LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE:

OR THE

Sole means to obtaine *Peace* and *Truth*.

Not onely reconciling His *MAJESTY* with His Subjects, but all Christian States and Princes to one another, with the freest passage for the GOSPEL.

Very seasonable and necessary in these distracted times, when most men are weary of War, and cannot finde the way to Peace.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

March 24 Printed in the Yeare 1643.

To every Christian Reader that seeks Truth as well as Peace.

Beloved in Christ Jesus:

LEt not the seeming noveltie of opinions deter thee from searching out the Truth, and be assured that Gods people, as well as worldlings have their times to fish in troubled waters; wherefore before thou proceed on with this Discourse, promise me, I beseech thee, to read it out; and if thou then repent thee of thy paines, let me but know so much, and I shall willingly take upon me a double penance for thy satisfaction and amends.

I am not ignorant that the lawfulnesse of newtrality is much controverted both in policie and conscience, but men of moderation which endeavour to qualifie or decline the precipice of extreams, ought not to be accounted newtralls or luke-warme: Such then (as I presume) will no more be of opinion, that all on the Kings side are Papists or Popishly affected, then that all on the Parliaments are Brownists, Anabaptists, or thereunto inclined; nor all that are at *Oxford* enemies of God and godly men, or all at *London* to take up Arms only for good of either; but that there are on both sides great numbers, though not equall, which wish sincerely and mean well, notwithstanding there may have been many weaknesses, infirmities & errours expressed by them; for, the presence and influence of both the Armies I conceive but much alike conducing to make the people really good or bad, though they must outwardly comply with both, so long as they are neare them, and have any thing to lose, and do not yet perceive, but that such Members of the Lords and Commons House, are much the same, notwithstanding their passing to and fro between *London* and *Oxford*.

But the *London* Pamphlets querie, whether Papists are likely to settle the Protestant Religion? And *Aulicus* seeming no lesse scrupulous, askes whether Brownists or Anabaptists will? But if a third should resolve them both, and say, that the Protestant Religion hath not been in *England* these eighty years, he might run the hazard to be thought a libeller, and yet it may chance be found so, if we examine what it is, whence it came, whether it be not confined amongst the Lutherans, and how much we differ from it, though we still retain the name: But what matters it, whether we be called Protestants or otherwise? or is truth and propriety the worse, because we endeavour, or attaine them by the helpe of Papists and of Brownists? or may not Papists and Brownists as lawfully serve their King and Country, as those thundering legions of Primitive Christians did the Heathen Emperours? The King saies he took up defensive Arms; and both Houses of Parliament averre that they did so: The Parliament party fear that if the King prevail, though his Majesty himselfe be not Popishly affected, the Bishops would be established, and by their jurisdiction, suppresse all such as did not conforme both to their discipline and doctrine: On the other side, the Kings party is

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in as great a fear, that if the Parliaments side should get the upper hand, though they do not establish Brownisme or Anabaptisme, yet they would settle a Presbytery, which may as much abridge them the Liberty of Conscience, as they themselves have been abridged under Episcopacie heretofore; in which respect, each party for the present, pretends to grant such a liberty as shall be suitable and complying with tender consciences, but neither dare yeeld unto, or trust the other: In such a case as this, is there no remedy? Hath God left us quite destitute of meanes to stop so great a gap to prevent the totall ruine and desolation of three Nations, not without the greatest scandall and offence which ever befell the Reformed Protestant Religion? The feare is equall and extream on both sides, though either of them is like enough to say, the others fear is but imaginary, yet both of them since they say so, and cannot be disproved, are to be treated and proceeded with, alike: To this the King addes, and saies, that besides sundry demonstrations of His grace and favour, I have granted *a perpetuall Parliament*, and if ever that should have an end, they have still *a triennial Parliament to perpetuity*, which of themselves only transcend all the grants that ever my Predecessours made unto their Subjects: and notwithstanding all this, they attempt my life, and take away my Revenues, Royalty, and Religion too, if it were possible: On the contrary, the two Houses of Parliament in their severall Remonstrances have informed his Majesty, how through predominancie of evill counsellours the Subjects liberties have had severall great breaches made upon them, innovations of Doctrine and Discipline in their Religion, and they are really and totally possessed, that by the same, and such like evill counsellours which are likely to succeed, their whole priviledges and propriety will be forced from them, and the profession of the true Protestant Religion utterly abolished; assuring his Majesty notwithstanding, that if he will be pleased to returne unto his great Councell, cause delinquents to be brought to triall, and settle the *Militia* of the Kingdome in such persons as both Houses may confide in, there shall be no failing on their parts to make him *a glorious Prince, beloved at home, feared abroad*, and *inlarge his Revenues beyond all his Predecessours*; but not finding how to qualifie the diffidence which each hath of the other, both sides have strengthned themselves, brought severall Armies into the field, fought some pitcht battells, and had so many skirmishes and encounters, as, besides the firing of whole Townes, deflouring of Virgins, committing rapes, rapines, and a thousand other villanies, hath been the death perhaps of above a hundred thousand soules in *England* only, then which, what could possibly befall more offensive unto God, or damageable to the State? Surely both parties should be desirous of composing such a difference, which in so high a nature and degree, is totally destructive unto both? But alas! the jealousies are such, that neither dare well offer, or entertain a Treaty, lest the other should make advantage of it; & yet a King cannot be said to deal too great a measure of love unto his people, nor subjects to out-doe their duty unto their King; nor the sword be said or thought properly or justly to have a capacity and power of settling true Religion; or Christians of all ranks and conditions whatsoever, more glorifie the King

of Kings, then in renouncing all earthly interests and advantages, rather then his great Name should be evill spoken of, or the bloud of his dearest Saints to be spilt upon the ground, and yet we cannot possibly imagine, without the greatest scandall of our owne charity, and offence unto the weaker brethren, but that some of them have already dyed on either side, God of his infinite mercy direct them both, that neither of them come short or be found guilty in either.

Another of the *London* queries is, Whether if Religion, and the State be in imminent danger of an *Oxford* party, both Houses of Parliament, and so great a portion as adheres unto them, may not defend themselves by Armes? and since *Aulicus* seems to be as much afraid that both Religion, Laws, and Priviledges of Parliament are equally endangered by the *London* Apprentices, and those that went to *Westminster*, some will thinke it best to answer both in one, and say, necessity hath no law, it is above all law, and though there be neither Act of Parliament, Ordinance of both Houses, or so much as a bare order of either, necessity will notwithstanding sufficiently warrant & instruct the people, as certainly and lawfully, though not so readily, to defend themselves from ruine and destruction; grant then that the danger be imminent, the necessity is implied therein, and all the rest will follow: This is a truth, though such a one as must be justly ballanced, and tenderly made use of; it is no doctrine of libertinisme, though libertines should abuse it, and for a curbe to such as would flie out on either side: If all fortifications throughout the Kingdome were once demollished, it would be to little purpose for a King to require more of the Subjects then the Laws permit, and they had willingnesse to performe; or for the representatives to engage the Kingdome farther then they that chose them, shall unanimously approve thereof: And since the strength and power is naturally in the people, as God doubtlesse allowes thereof, that they might have a possibility to shelter themselves against the extremities of tyranny in what government soever; so will none truly conscientious, easily take occasion hereby to deny subjection to the Powers: It is not sufficient to *say* there is imminent danger and necessity, both God and man must *see* it is so, and unlesse we be both wise & conscientious in the mangage of it, standers by and others; the Saints of all neighbouring States and Nations will judge otherwise thereof hereafter, what ever we our selves declare therein at present: what would the King or Parliament gaine thereby, if either of them did prevaile by sword? in such case the conquered party must be still kept under by a martiall law and power, which would so long continue grievous to them both, untill the whole Kingdome be weary of it, and joyntly agree to cast the yoke from off them; so that unlesse the conditions be free, just and equall in apprehension of them both, Prerogative continued unto the King, Priviledges to both Houses of Parliament, and Liberties unto the Subject, we cannot expect a during peace, much lesse a Reformation of what is amisse either in Civill or Ecclesiasticall affaires, nor Gods blessing upon any of them.

Having thus heard what is alledged, and tryed and prepared our consciences on both sides let us thinke upon a Treaty, and rather then be without it, the wars

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may ſtill be proſecuted, as if there were no Treaty? And becauſe it may ſeem that the King and Parliament doe not confide in one another, I with with all meeknesſe and ſubmiſſion that they may both conſider whether it is not neceſſary that ſome ſuch middle way be thought on, as neither of them remaine at the meer power and mercy of the other, and yet it would not be good to divide the Kingdom again into a Heptarchie, or more, or fewer portions, but if it ſhould be thought fitting towards the compaſſing a ſpeedier diſbanding of the Souldiers and demoliſhing all Inland works, whereby the Countrey is not only plundered of what they have at preſent, but abſolutely diſcouraged to till the ground, and nouriſh cattell, leſt both ſtocke and fruit be taken from them afterwards; that in this interim only, each of them may have a rationall ſecurity and ſafeguard againſt the others attempt, whileſt the bloud which hath been ſo long boyling, be growne cold againe, and every one of us better fitted and diſpoſed to imbrace each other more cordially, that in ſuch caſe, and for ſuch purpoſe only, certaine garriſons for a ſhort time may ſtill remaine in ſome of the Sea-Ports as both King and Parliament ſhall approve of.

For more facilitating of ſo good a worke, give me leave to premiſe theſe few things: 1. That the King being but one, cannot poſſibly overmatch the Subjects, unleſſe they will themſelves, and therefore the Houſes of Parliament may with leſſe danger treat him more like a King. 2. The King being ſole diſpoſer of his owne, may better reſolve to forgoe the preſent enjoyment of ſome ſmall part thereof a while, when He ſhall finde that God will trie Him, in calling for it to purchaſe His owne peace, and three Kingdomes welfare, which both Houſes cannot comply in, unleſſe the major part be willing. 3. Though the generall good of all his Subjects ought rather to overſway a King, then all his owne intereſts in the Kingdome, yet ſince it is more hard to Royall fleſh and bloud (borne to rule and governe others) to renounce their owne juſt rights, much more to deliver up into the adverſe party, all ſuch as have adhered to Him; ſo may the Parliament expreſſe much Nobleneſſe and Wiſdome in being tender of preſſing Him with ſo great a tryall. 4. That though either ſide conceive the Propoſitions which ſhall be made unequall, and little hopes of bettering them for the preſent; yet I preſume the difference will not be ſo great, but both of them may expect ſecurity therein at time of need; and in caſe either ſide ſhould take advantage, and break out again, *a good cauſe and conſcience with a leſſe Army, may more hopefully expect aſſiſtance from God to overcome a greater.* 5. If Armes being laid downe on both ſides, the King through importunity of evill counſellours ſhould refuſe to paſſe any other Acts for redreſſe of ſundry grievances which the Subjects yet lye under, both Houſes have the ſame liberty to withold their conſent in ſuch other Acts as were for the Kings advantage, and I humbly propound whether it may not appeare upon enquiry, that (concerning civill intereſts) the Subjects, for the preſent, ſtand in leſſe need of new Acts to be paſſed in their favour then the King does of Subſidies, His Majeſty being no little indebted, His charge ſo much encreaſed, and His revenue leſſened. 6. If evill Counſellors or Courtiers ſhould returne againe to innovate

either in Church or State, they cannot have the boldnesse or power to worke such mischiefe, but a triennall Parliament will easily be able to make them weary of it. And lastly, That it cannot be for the good of King and People, that the three estates in Parliament, though Armes were quite laid downe, should stand severely upon the priviledge of their negative respective voyces, but necessarily must comply with one another to make their mutuall happinesse compleat.

And because I am verily perswaded that one great reason which moved God to permit these Kingdomes to be thus divided, and engaged in a civill War, was the generall obstinacie and averseneſse of most men of all ranks and qualities in each Nation, to tollerate, and beare with tender consciences, and different opinions of their brethren, unlesse they were thereunto so far necessitated, that without it, there must inevitably ensue on both sides a totall ruine and destruction, which is full neare, the present wofull condition that all three, so lately flourishing Kingdomes, are now plunged into, God of his great mercy vouchsafe effectually to shew them their deliverance: in this respect, as also in that I cannot thinke, that God hath suffered so much bloudshed, either to establish the Kings Prerogative, or the Priviledge of Parliament only, but that He hath yet a far greater worke of his own to bring about, I humbly conceive that Liberty of Conscience may deservedly require to be first treated on, what, and how far forth it may and ought to be permitted; which being throughly debated, and agreed on by both sides as the first Article, to be forthwith ratified by the three estates in Parliament, all the rest will doubtlesse follow more willingly and sweetly.

If a man will raile against the high Commission Court, or in a seditious manner revile Episcopacie or Presbytery, he shall not want multitudes to countenance and cry him up, but such as in a Christian way, goe about with meeknesse to discover, and desire the spring head may be reformed, the unwarrantable power of both witheld, from whence the spirituall wickednesses arise, and without which, though we should chance be eased a while by change, upon the abolishing of Prelacie, yet the milde and gentle *interregnum*, would prove so much more cruell to us afterwards, when a succeeding government, having the selfe same corrupting principles with Episcopacie, and knowing its own strength, shall, *contrary to Pauls doctrine, 2 Cor. 1. 24. Assume against the dominion of our consciences*, after we had tasted the sweetneſse of Christian liberty, and flattered our selves with the continuance of it; such I say, may run the hazard to be accounted presumptuous, turbulent, or innovaters, so dim sighted are most men in the *mystery of godlinesse*, and so inclinable to be transported with carnall wisdome and security. It is not the imperiousneſse of *Episcopacie, Presbytery*, or *Lay*, in what degree of comparison soever they shall ranke themselves, which can scourge them into a spirituall Temple fit for the Holy Ghost to dwell in, no meanes so much conducing thereunto as a fatherly reproving, a brotherly admonishing, and a meek pathetically beseeching one another, like that of *St. Paul the aged, Philem. 9.* in the bowels and tendernesse of Jesus Christ, when how seldome it hath been practised by either of them in respect of what

they ought, and how little fruit we see thereof, I desire no wayes to aggravate, but mention only, (God is my record) not so much for their sorrow, as amendment, having just cause to pray that I may finde repentance for my share thereof, which is not with the least.

Let both the *Oxford* and *London* party consider duly, whether to be persecuted be not a signe of the true Church, since *Paul* saies, 2 *Tim.* 3. 12. *All that will live godly must suffer persecution*, and consequently though we had not one word more in all the Bible to this purpose, whether that government be not likeliest to be such as Christ intended to rule his people by, whom he calls his *Sheep* his *Lambes*, *Joh.* 21. 15, 16. no creatures of prey, which most respects, and bears with tender consciences? and since all governments may degenerate into tyranny, though for the present, all things were settled according to either of their desires, whether notwithstanding they ought not to wish, and even in meer policie endeavour that there might be a tolleration of weake consciences, lest through the vicissitude and wheeling about of time, their owne consciences might come againe to be oppressed hereafter: for *Salomon* saies, *Ec.* 1. 9. *There is no new thing under the sun, and the thing which hath been, is that which shall be done againe hereafter*: and the generall applause and confidence which Episcopacie had so lately of its owne strength in this Kingdome, should be a warning for all other governments not to subject themselves through presumption of their power and party unto the like downfall and destruction: and such as have either felt or understood the spirituall bondage which this Kingdome hath twice suffered in time of Popery and Prelacie by reason of their coercive jurisdiction, unlesse they be both earnest with God and man, that the same be not given unto any other government, will bring upon their owne soules, the miscarriage of all such as perish through the tyranny which it will infallibly fall into and exercise hereafter; it was not their Popery or Prelacie (that was to themselves) which so much oppressed us, as their power, otherwise, the persons of such which still remained in the same Popish and Prelaticall opinions, ought to have been rather proceeded against, and not that power to be arraigned and condemned both of spirituall and corporall rape and murder in Prelacie, which was so soone after to be again enthroned in Presbytery: I humbly queric what it might be that moved both Houses of Parliament to vote and prepare a Bill against Episcopacie, or that prevailed with the Estates of *Scotland* to declare it Antichristian; if it were only an abusing of such power as was given to the Church, and might politely have been well imployed, then may a Reformation or punishing of such Bishops as abused it, redresse our grievances, and the government still remaine established; but if it were the great *Dianá*, *Act.* 19. 24, 28. that strumpet and Idol which is common to them all, that plenipotentiary jurisdiction to administer or passe sentence against their brethren in person or estate, by vertue of a coercive discipline and dominion, how can it safely be given unto any other government, since that *both Popular and Aristocratic all with all others, are as infallibly, though not equally subject to tyrannie, as the Papall or Episcopall?* And whereas it is said that Presbytery disclaimes coercive power to

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be in the Church, but about it only to be imployed by the Civill Magistrate in behalfe and benefit of the Church, I would faine be informed, whether the Civill Magistrate be Judge when it is fitting to imploy such power for behoofe of the Church; and if he be, whether then the Civill Magistrate be not above the Church, and every member and the whole Church lyable to correction though they offend not in their owne opinions; and if the Civill Magistrate may not move therein unrill the Church or Presbytery require, whether such may not be said the Churches using of the Civill sword in a more superlative and sovereigne way, little differing from what they practise in the Papacie, which is first to degrade and distrobe all Ecclesiasticall persons, and so deliver up, both them and all others that shall be found guilty unto the Civill Magistrate, which may not refuse to see the execution done.

And because it may be objected that many places of Scripture herein alledged, may as well seem to speake for a tolleration of Popery, and my selfe therein to plead for it, let such be pleased to rest satisfied, that though I cannot for the present make full discovery in the word of God, why, or how Papists should be forced by fines and other penalties to be of *our* Religion, yet I take not upon me to be spokesman for a tolleration of *theirs*, by reason of their Idolatry; but my humble desires are prostrated unto the King and Parliament that all other Christians who are now reproached under the name of Puritans, Separatists or Nonconformists of what kind soever, who are so far from being suspected, that they must needs be acknowledged the greatest enemies to Idolatry, may enjoy such peace and freedome, as will permit them to keep alwayes a good conscience both before God and man, *Act.* 24. 16. And that they would vouchsafe, out of the love they beare to Gods Cause and People, to take into further consideration, that if as Reformed Protestants, we may not suffer Papists and Turks to make profession of their Religion amongst us, in a qualified and more moderate manner, as in some parts of *Germany*, where they have Churches, but are not permitted their publicke Processions, or open exposing of the Sacrament, as they call it, which no Protestants can walke the streets about, without being subject to be scandalized thereat, how far, in such case, it may be found agreeable to the Word of God, for Protestants to transplant themselves by Colonies, or as particular Marchants to goe and live in *Turky*, or in *Italy* and *Spaine* especially, where, though they were not troubled with the Inquisition, though they were not forced to Church, which they frequent notwithstanding to prevent the danger of it, though they might enjoy their owne Religion quietly, whether they may for this respect live in *Italy* and *Spaine*, where they cannot chuse but see (and must likewise seem to countenance by putting off of hats, setting out lights, adorning with pictures, hangings, or otherwise that part of their houses where the Procession passes, sometimes with corporall kneeling, and seldome without bowing) even at their owne windows, and in the streets as they walke about their businesse, the superstitious pageantrie of their wil-worship, and Idolatry, which is the condition of all our Merchants and Travellers that go amongst them.

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And whereas many will not sticke to say, that such are lake-warme or of no Religion, who desire a tollleration of so many? I answer, That it is the freedome of their owne conscience which they desire, not to be indifferently of any Religion, or prophanely of none at all; but that they might enjoy alwayes peaceably that Religion, which they have examined and found to be the true one, and not be subject to a change so often as the Civill State, or those of the highest Court shall please to vary; for since they are chosen anew so often as a Parliament is called, they may every time be of different, if not of opposite opinions and religions; and far more is it to be feared, that such will be found careleſſe, if not negligent, in the choice of their Religion, as little troubling themselves to *trie the spirits whether they be of God or no*, 1 John 4. 1. or examine the opinions and doctrines which are taught, receive them currantly, what ever they be, so they come sealed and delivered by authority of State.

It hath more then once come into my thoughts, what might move the wisdome of God, to leave the Scriptures so liable to the diversities of interpretations, which in regard it savoured more of curiosity then edifying, I purposely forbore to ruminate thereon; however at the same instant, it came into my minde as not altogether impossible, that God might be so pleased, to make men more diligent and inquisitive to search after truth, and conscientious in imbracing it *with feare and trembling*, Phil. 2. 12. after which manner we are required to *work out our salvation*; In this respect, the very Law of *Moses* consisting in a dead letter, which the Divel himselfe could scarce controvert or pick a quarrell with, did not render the Jews so scrupulous and conscionable, as the Gospel doth Christians; and even amongst all those that professe Christianity, I conceive it may easily be observed, that such as study the variety of opinions, and trie the spirits out of a zeale to truth, choosing their Religion by their owne judgements, though erronious, are yet more jealous of Gods worship, and conscionable towards men. Shall men so far distrust themselves to feare they may be misled into a false religion or opinion, because they have liberty to make profession of the truth? or can a man be in a better condition then he can wish himselfe to be? are we the more acceptable to God because we will not be of the true Religion, unlesse we be forced thereto? or are we the more excusable in being of the false, because we are willing to be compelled into it? is the tyranny of the body so grievous to us, and are we in love with spirituall bondage? To be of a Religion because it is countenanced by the law in that Countrey where thou livest, or because most men are of the same, is no good reason; it is not a hundred yeares since Popery was established by law in England, and may be so againe for all that we can tell, most part of Europe still being Papists: Dear Reader, search, examine thine owne heart, and consider whether it may not be found in the last day, that many men have taken up that Religion which was with most importunity thrust upon them, rather then they would take paines to make triall of it: Oh, but some will say it is presumption to be wiser then a Synod or a State; consider againe, I beseech thee in the feare of God, who is more arrogant and presumptuous, he that seeketh to enjoy his owne conscience peaceably, only admonishing and informing such as run erronious wayes with all humility and love, or those that imperiously, and will they nill they, constraine others to make profession of such opinions as they themselves are of? and yet there is no *medium* betweene an implicite faith, and that which a mans owne judgement and understanding leads him to.

But some will still object and say, what shall be done to those that are obstinately malignant, and maliciously perverse in their owne opinions? I answer, That as in the Parable it is said, *If they hear not Moses and the Prophets, neither will they be perswaded, though one rose from the dead*, Luke 16. 31. So if informing, exhorting, and such fair means, or others which are Scripture proofe, doe not prevaile with such as are led into false opinions, harsh and compulsive, or other which are unwarrantable cannot, and therefore to charge a man that he is wilfully blinde, and will not see the truth, if he submit himselfe to heare and read what shall be lawfully required of him in that behalfe, is the most *uncivill, unreasonable*, and *uncristianlike* offence that words know how to utter, and finally against all reason, ordinary policie, & Scripture, to endeavour or think that the mysticall Body of our Saviour may possibly be built up after

downe againe; and though we should suppose, that this very man who is thus reproached, had yeelded and complied in whatsoever could have been expected from him, yet it was impossible for him to be in heart of this or that opinion, to beleeve this or that doctrine of truth, untill God had touched his heart, and called him thereunto still when they ought still in meeknesse to instruct even those that oppose themselves, *if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledgement of truth*, 2 Tim. 2. 25. as appears more largely in the following Discourse: We say that Church Papists are most dangerous, and hypocrites the worst of men, what ground have we then, or how can we excuse our provoking them to goe to Church, or tempting them to be such by so many severall waies? that may be lawfull to one who thinks so, which to another would be sin, because he doubts thereof: have we not learned that eating of meats only was sin in some good Christians, 1 Cor. 8. 10, 11. when others might freely eat thereof without any guiltinesse at all? how much more may the same case happen in points of discipline or doctrine, wherein the worship of God is more highly interessed and concerned.

I confesse my selfe much inferiour to the taske I have undertook, and should in no sort have presumed upon it, had I not apprehended my selfe to be called thereunto, through the silence of so many who were abundantly better qualified to undergoe it; however I doubt not but God will be so far forth pleased to second my weak endeavours, as sundry well disposed souls may be provoked to light their torches at these sparkles, and prosecute it with more advantage; for this cause am I moved to make them publick, not for any private respect or interest of mine own, further then they are involved in the generall; for if at any time I stood in need of liberty and freedome in mine own particular, I am not such a stranger to forreigne Countries, both of severall climates and professions, but that I can finde the way thither againe to purchase my enlargement.

I know I have not observed the symmetrie and rules of Architecture in contriving so large a Portall for so small a Fabrick, however, before I take my leave, let me advertise thee, that I plead not against, but for liberty, and that the best of all liberties, the Liberty of Conscience; not for, but against imprisoning, fining, or tormenting, of all others the most tyrannicall, for matters meerly of Religion; not for, but against the shedding bloud, Christian bloud, Protestant bloud of the most conscientious Christians, Gods dearest Saints, the Lords inheritance, for whose salvation only our Saviour shed his owne most precious bloud. Dear Reader, let but the thought hereof prevail with thee to demurre a little, and consider, whether this controversie, about liberty or bondage, life and death both temporall and spirituall, though heretofore seldome thought on, be not worth debating; *Nulla unquam de morte hominis cunctatio longa*: disclaime all carnall wisdome which knew not what to counsell thee; renounce thine owne self will and wishes, that foolishly have wished and willed so many things unduly, as had not God withheld them from thee, must needs have been thy finall ruine: And now at last, fit and prepare thy minde to receive in such further light and truth, as the Blessed Spirit shall please to visit thee withall, and rest assured, that God who now stands looking out for such labourers, will in some degree and measure according to thy readinesse, make thee an instrument of *a sanctified peace and reformation*, wherewith three Kingdomes are now in travell, to his owne glory, and thy eternall happinesse: Which God of his infinite goodnesse bestow upon thee, and all such as in sincerity seek *Peace* and *Truth*: Amen.

BEsides mispainting, the Errata are many, and some of them very grosse, in which respect the Reader will doubtlesse finde the benefit thereof, if before he proceed any further he resolve to rectifie these that follow, viz. Page 4. lin. 17. for persisti, read persist. ibid. p. l. 35. take. p. 6. l. 13. ingenuous. ib. p. l. 38. Barbery p. 9. l. 12. many times. p. 10. l. 20 persist. p. 12. l. 22. whence. p. 14. l. 26. those. p. 18. l. 33. ingenuous. p. 20. l. 5. doubting. p. 22. l. 14. make. p. 24. l. 39. one on. p. 28. l. 32 expressely. ib. p. l. 41. these. p 29. l. 3. cannot possibly. p. 30. l. 29. wish. p. 32. l. 13. make. p. 33. l. 21. apprehended. p. 47. l. 15. from though he write, to the end of l. 17. must come in at l. 20. after Beza. p. 49. l. 22. extraordinarily. ib. p. l. 29. us. ib p l. 38 principles. p. 50. l. 22. your. ib. p. l. 27. as is yet. p. 51. l. 41. rather than. p. 53. l. 20. have not. p. 56. l. 6. principles.

Liberty of Conſcience:

OR,

The only means to obtain PEACE *and* TRUTH.

THE Sword, Peſtilence, and Famine, are the three moſt dreadfull ſcourges wherewith God uſes to chaſtiſe a ſtubborne People; and although that Sinne be the only generall cauſe to pull downe vengeance, and God ordinarily makes uſe of naturall meanes to convey it upon us in what kinde ſoever; yet in the former, man appeares to be a more principall and immediate inſtrument, then in the two latter, and doubtleſſe by Gods permiſſion, hath a greater liberty and power to beginne, and put an end to it, which was the cauſe that the Sword onely hath deſtroyed far more without compariſon, then Famine and peſtilence together: wherefore when *David* found himſelfe in a ſtrait by the three propoſitions of Sword, Peſtilence and Famine, which God made unto him as a puniſhment for *numbring of the people*, knowing full well the cruelties of man, choſe to fall into the hand of God, who therefore ſent the Peſtilence upon Iſraell, which in this reſpect beſides others may juſtly be thought the more mercifull of all three, and by conſequence of what was ſaid, it will follow, that ſuch as have the keeping of the Sword, with power to draw and put it up again, muſt be accountable for all the bloud-ſhed: Had Kings no other thornes about their Crowns, doubtleſſe this one if duly thought on, would keep them circumſpect and watchfull in every action, the leaſt whereof, though inſenſibly, conduces ſomewhat towards Peace or Warfare. 1 Chron. 21.

Warres, and rumours of warres have ever beene, and are at preſent throughout the world; but ſince Princes became Chriſtians, it may have been obſerved, how Chriſtendome a ſpot of ground only, hath continually been the Cock-pit, & all the world beſides but as a breathing place; however we ought not for this cauſe to be forward in juſtifying Wars the more, but rather make ſearch and ſtrict enquiry whence it comes to paſſe, that Chriſtians are ſo plunged therein, ſince they of all other people can juſtifie it leaſt.

I know there may be a just War, but what I am now to say, is meant only against that which is unjust, and so desire it may be understood, whereof I doe the more presume because no Warre but hath much evill as the effect thereof; and however for such as do begin a War, we may charitably conceive of both sides, that they apprehend it to be lawfull, yet if we examine standers by, and heare what all that are not interessed doe judge thereof, we shall finde them generally condemning both sides, though one perhaps in a greater measure than another.

1 Tim. 6. 10. St. *Paul* sayes, that *covetousnesse is the root of all evill*, and Warre which is the greatest of those evills, questionlesse was never yet without a coveting; however, because that neither coveting, nor such other motives as are the reall and originall causes of taking up of Armes, have not for the most part beene found, or thought sufficient to prevaile, or beare sway enough with all such as are to be required to contribute largely for the maintenance thereof; I say, it may most commonly be observed, that whatsoever were the reall, though more secret ground of War, Religion was still pretended to be the principall, or at least endeavoured to be made seem so far forth hazarded and engaged in the quarrell, that no man might adventure to call in question the lawfulnesse thereof, or seem backward in supplying without palpable scandall and suspition of luke-warmnesse in Religion: I need not bring examples for proofe hereof, every mans own acquaintance in Histories will furnish himselfe abundantly.

But in regard that Religion, though perhaps it seldome was the primary and sole cause of making War (in that I thinke few have been so conscientious, yet such as some Casuists conceive, were but a misgrounded conscience in respect of an offensive War) hath notwithstanding been, and still is the most powerfull meanes and stratagem to countenance and continue it, whereby that which ought to be most deare and sacred, becomes a pander to satisfie our lusts, the consideration whereof, the shedding so much Christian bloud, the obstructing of the Gospels propagation, the miserable devastation of whole Countries, with infinite perpetrating and multiplication of most enormous and execrable villanies, have moved me to consider with my selfe, which way Religion might be vindicated and redeemed from this abuse, the grand meanes of fomenting Wars discovered, the main [illegible] whereby

Princes pretend to have of one another, or King and people amongst themselves, towards accommodation of the present Wars, and cutting off occasion from such as otherwise might spring up againe hereafter.

Whether Religion have been the reall cause of so much War in Christendome, or so pretended only, makes all one to what I have in hand, which is to prove in this Discourse, by Gods assistance, how a man ought not to be persecuted for conscience sake, as will appeare by the inconsistencie thereof with sundry Scriptures following, which being once concluded on, and put in practice, will make an open way for the free passage of the Gospel, quite cut off the greatest jealousies and feares which perplex the mindes of Princes, States and People, when they suppose or but alleadge an endangering of their Religion, and consequently the likeliest course of reducing all Christian Countries to peace amongst themselves, and friendly intercourse with one another.

St. *Paul* saith, *You are bought with a price, be ye not the servants of men*: this must be meant for matters of this world, or else of that which is to come; about subjection of the body in civill affaires, or subjection of the soule in spirituall; but it cannot be understood for matters of the body, or of this world, because it would then contradict other places of Scripture, which command *all to be subject unto higher Powers, servants to their masters, wives to their husbands*, and the like; in which respect, as also from the coherence with the words aforegoing, it appeares necessarily to be understood, that we must not be subject concerning our Religion, matters of conscience or touching the soule, to be of this or that Religion, because we are commanded by King or State, for though it be the true Religion which we professe, yet if we were forced to it, it will doe us little good, nor be ever a whit available, for God accepts only of willing service, such as we performe of our owne free election, not by compulsion.

1 Cor. 7.22, 23, 24.

Rom. 13.1. 1 Pet. 2 13. Eph. 5 22. and 6 5. 1 Pet. 2.8. Col. 3.22.

Neither is the objection good, that though men be forced into the true Religion at first without any liking of their owne, yet afterwards it falls out that such approve of it, and will not bee brought to change nor alter, which must needs be acceptable to God: For first, the compelling of a man to any thing against his owne conscience, especially in matters of faith, is a *doing evill*, which God forbids, *that good may come of it*, and therefore we cannot

Object.

Answ.

Rom. 3.8. and 14.23.

not expect that he should prosper, so bad a meanes to produce so good effect, as that people at first constrained to make profession of the true Religion, should afterwards prove sincere and true beleevers, by vertue of those coercive powers which were meerly unwarrantable and sinfull, but for such as doe so continue, it is to be attributed to some other meanes whereby they became convinced of the truth, or more secret call of God, which would in due time have found out, and brought them home into his sheepfold without the helpe of a tyranous inquisition.

This is more evident if we consider the multitudes of people and whole Nations which live and dye in the Religion they were borne, with equall constancie and security, though their faith and tenets be diametrically opposite to one another; and for those that happen to be thus of the true Religion, because borne in it, though it be the true one, and that they will not be brought to change, yet for most part they can give no better reason of their faith, then those that are in the wrong, and perish as obstinately, for they tooke not their Religion upon choice or triall, neither do they continue it upon judgement, never having searched or tried the Scriptures, as we are commanded; and indeed they may well say, to what purpose shall we *examine our selves*, as St. *Paul* saith, *whether we be in the faith or no?* to what end, *Try the spirits whether they be of God?* or, *Search the Scriptures*, whether the doctrine taught us now be the same which the Apostles left us? when we may not professe the Religion we apprehend to be the only true one, but are forced to make profession of that only which the State shall thinke fit, and declare to be such.

2 Cor. 13. 5. 1 Joh. 4. 1. Gal. 1. 8.

Nay, in that St. *Paul* sayes, *Trie the spirits whether they bee of God or no*; and tells them plainly, that *if any man thinke himselfe to be something, when he is nothing, that he deceiveth himselfe, and that every man should therefore prove his owne worke, and that then he shall have rejoycing in himselfe alone, and not in another, for every man shall beare his owne burthen*, Gal. 6. 3, 4, 5. And to the Thessalonians he saies, *Prove all things, and hold fast that which is good*, 1 Thess. 5. 21. Do not such thwart and resist these Scriptures, who take upon them to assigne and stint men unto certaine spirits, as though they could be saved by the faith and knowledge of others, with expresse peremptory commands to receive them for the true Spirit of God, without any triall or examination? and indeed it is better to take up a

Religion

Religion without triall upon adventure, then having examined and found it Antichristian or erronious, submit unto it notwithstanding; but certainly if well examined, this will appeare not a bare *adding or taking from the word of God*, but a flat opposition, and giving the lie, as I may terme it, unto the Scriptures, for whom a heavier judgement is preparing, if such a one were possible, then that which is denounced in the Revelation. Rev. 22. 18, 19

What if the Prince and Peeres should change Religion, must they be subject also to persecution? I know not how they can be well secured so long as such Statutes are in force; for in that they concerne matters of Religion, if they binde at all, they binde most of all: But what if a King and Parliament should repeale all Acts against the Papists, and passe others of the same tenour against all Protestants, must we therefore all turne Papists? If that Religion must be received and forced upon the consciences of people, which by a major part is voted to be the true one, I know no remedy but that we may be lyable againe hereafter to change as often as those that lived in the Reignes of *Henry* 8. *Edward* 6. Queen *Mary*, and Queen *Elizabeth*.

My humble desires therefore are, that we may not procrastinate any longer the preventing so great a misery, as the world cannot possibly torment us with a greater, not through confidence of a present prevailing party, or such other assurance as carnall policie and wisdome doe only furnish us withall; the Bishops condition may be sufficient item to us in this behalfe, who, notwithstanding so many suffered by them, had within lesse then five yeares since greater multitudes of abettors within this Kingdome, then ever any kinde of Church government in likelihood will find hereafter; it is necessary therefore to proceed upon a sure foundation, by passing an act against persecution for Religion, which besides the agreeableness with Scripture, all degrees of people having once tasted the sweetnesse of it, will never suffer themselves to be bereaved thereof againe, and by that means become a sure establisher of the generall peace of the Kingdome, and dispose every one more willingly to submit to higher powers, though to some prejudice of his propriety when he apprehends himself certain to enjoy the Liberty of his Conscience.

But may we *not any longer be subject unto men?* Surely then in whatsoever sense it be meant, we must be subject unto Christ, 1 Cor. 7. 22, 23

Matth. 11. 30. *his yoke is easie*; and we must not live lawlesse as we our selves list, but persecution imposes a heavier yoke of subjection upon the Conscience, then any Prince or Tyrant in the world doth upon the body of his Subjects: And although every soule must be subject to higher Powers in civill matters, yet there are degrees of subjection and relations in a Common-wealth whereby one is bound to yeeld more or lesse subjection, obedience, respect, and honour, according to the respective Lawes and ranke wherein he stands; and yet in most Countries every Subject from the highest to the lowest hath a kinde of freedome, and possibility of quitting himselfe from the most toilsome and inferiour vassalage, if he be a man of abilities or wealth; but that Law which imposes on the *Note.* Conscience, serves all alike, save that the most ingenious and conscientious are most afflicted with it, and so long as it is in force, a good Conscience hath no meanes either to evade it or dispence with it.

But how fruitlesse a course it is to force men to conformity in a x Religion they have no liking of, will appeare by the small successe it wrought on Papists here in *England*, many whereof went to Church when they were strictly lookt too, stopping their eares with wooll because they would not heare at all, or heare with an intention to beleeve the contrary; or else like Protestant Merchants and travellers in *Italy* and *Spaine*, which ordinarily goe to Masse and Vespers, to avoid suspition of the Inquisition, but because their hearts joyn not in the Church devotions, they purposely send their eyes a gadding after beauty, whilest many, too too many, by custome assume so great a liberty, as if the eye could not sin in one respect, whilest the heart consented not in another, or rather as if God would pardon them the lust of the eye, so long as they were not Popish in their hearts.

But more remarkable it is in the Moores of *Spaine* and Jewes of *Portugal*, some whereof dissembled Popery in their successive generations some hundreds of yeares together, untill the Moores being discovered in such multitudes, as that the King not thinking it safe to retaine them longer in so slavish a captivity of the Conscience, nor able to give them a tolleration without the Popes dispencing, commanded them to be gone, and accordingly about the yeare 1606. they conveyed themselves into *Barbaria* and *Turkey*, with such a stocke of Christian crafts and policie, as not only the Pirates,

Pirates, but those whole Nations are much advantaged and improved, to the no lesse shame than detriment of Christianity: Oh let not the like befall *England*, with her manufactors, but I feare it is almost too late to wish so, for so many thousands of them being already gone, are able to teach all the world, unlesse both they be suddenly recalled, and others encouraged to continue by a Liberty of Conscience.

And for the Jewes in *Portugall*, the Inquisition used alwaies to be full of them, seldome without foure hundred or five hundred together, and though most of them will not scruple, and many of them chuse rather to marry with such as really are Christians, that they may with more security play the hypocrites, yet by such as live amongst them it is observed, that though from one generation to another, they have matched into Christian families, yet they reserve and instill their Jewish principles so subtilly into their offspring, as tho children though they have remaining in them not above one two and thirtieth part of a Jew, are notwithstanding knowne by infallible presumptions to be Jewes in heart, though outwardly they make profession otherwise.

In the Gospel according to St. *John*, *Jesus* answered, *My Kingdome is not of this world, if my Kingdome were of this world, then would my servants fight that I should not be delivered up to the Jewes.* What can be more opposite unto the intentions and proceedings of our Saviour, who rather than resist chose to suffer persecution unto death, than those that persecute others unto death? If Christs Kingdome be not of this world, but if it be mysticall and spirituall, then must it necessarily be erected by powerfull preaching of the Word, and by the Spirit: When *Peter* smote off the high Priest servants eare in defence of his Master, our Saviour bids him put *up his sword*, and instead of commending him and his zeal in reseuing the sacred Person of our blessed Saviour, saies, *All they that take the sword shall perish by the sword*: And St. *Paul* exhorts the Ephesians *to be strong, but in the Lord, and in the power of his might*, not brandishing the sword of civill Magistrates, but *to take the helmet of salvation, and sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God*: and in another place he sayes, that *Faith cometh by hearing, and how shall they believe in him, of whom they have not heard? and how shall they heare without a preacher?* And yet if it had been in good a way, *Paul* would doubtlesse have taught it them, by saying, how shall they beleeve unlesse

John 18.36.

Matth. 26. 51, 52.

Eph. 6.10.17.

Rom. 10.14.17

unlesse you tell them? and how shall they know what is to bee beleeved, unlesse you impose it upon them? But this was none of *Pauls* Doctrine; both our Saviour and his Apostles not only taught and practised, but sealed the contrary with their bloud.

The Spaniards are blamed, and that justly, by all other Nations for having massacred so many millions of West-Indians in their owne Country, under pretence of Religion, though it be evident, it was only that they might the easier rifle them of their gold and silver, and so it is in all persecutions pretended for Conscience sake; for did we but a little consider with our selves, we would easily conclude, that few have been yet so mad to put people to death meerly for Religion sake; I know that many in passion, rage and fury, will say it is pity such Hereticks should live, but when such men are in a calme mood, if another *Nathan*, like him that came to *David*, should say unto them, there is such a neighbour of mine charitable to the poore, upright in his dealing, courteous in his behaviour, meek and lowly minded, loyall to his Sovereigne, true to his Country, chusing rather to suffer than offer injuries, beloved of all that knew him, and never so much as tainted with suspition of any thing blame-worthy, till of late being accused as a Separatist for seducing the Kings liege people unto his owne Religion; the Jury finding him guilty, he is condemned to dye; will not a tender hearted Christian be ready to reply, it is pity such a one should dye? and though the Law condemne him, the King is mercifull, and doubtlesse would reprieve him if he knew he had been loyall to his Country, and committed no other sinne then endeavouring by argument from Scripture to bring others of his owne Religion: now though most men, or every good man would be loth that a conscientious Christian should be put to death for doing nothing but what he is bound in conscience, the winning Proselites to his cause, his religion, which amongst so many different sorts of Christians, he thinks to be the right, and himselfe no lesse obliged to publish it, then *Peter* and *John*, who when they were commanded by the Magistrate not to speake or teach in the name of *Jesus* answered, *we cannot but speake the things which we have seen and heard*: And when our Saviour sent out his Apostles, he said unto them, *what I tell you in darknesse, speake ye in light, and what ye hear in the ear, that preach ye upon the house tops, and feare not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soule*: Now though

2 Sam. 12. 1.

Acts 4. 17. 10.

Matth. 10. 27, 28.

though Christians generally will not acknowledge that they put any to death meerly for Conscience sake, yet so long as there is a Law whereunto such as differ from us in religion or any point thereof shal be more lyable then our selves; as the Jewes, *when they could not resist and gainsay the spirit wherewith Steven spake, stirred up the people, suborned and set up false witnesses to accuse him*, Acts 6.11.13. So, amongst us there will not be wanting one or other who for some private interest and by-respect, will finde out one to accuse, others to witnesse, a Jury to give verdict and make guilty, a Judge to pronounce the sentence, and at last finde meanes to keep the King from reprieving, all of them thus conspiring to put him to death by the advantage of such a Law, whereas really it was not his Religion which they so much regarded, and they may cleerly say they put him not to death for his Religion, but it was their owne respective private benefit and ends which corrupted them to compasse his distruction by force and colour of such a Law.

But why? what reason which is Scripture proofe can be given, why a particular Gentleman should be put out of a Mannor whereof he hath the propriety by inheritance or purchase, more than a whole Nation, a Nation of Infidells and Pagans for Religion sake? Perhaps it may be said, the State hath enacted a Law whereby this Gentlemans whole revenue or part of it becomes forfeited, because he is not of the true Religion; whereto I answer, That Popery was enacted to be the true Religion in Queen *Maries* dayes, and that which Protestants professe in Queen *Elizabeths*, yet they could not be both the true Religion, however the Subject was not suffered to say so much of either, so long as they had a Parliament protection; but doubtlesse all just Laws have their grounds and rule in Scripture, and more exactly such as concerne Religion, which is the *unum necessarium*: and if a Pagan Nation may not be invaded in their teritories, because they will not be of our Religion, nor a neighbouring Christian people differing from us in some opinions, why should a particular man have *his only lambe*, his pittance taken from him for refusing only to be of a religion, or of an opinion which would absolute *damne him because he doubts*, so long as he lives peaceably, and gives unto *Cesar* the things which are *Cesars*?

Object.

Answ.

2 Sam. 12. 4. Rom. 14. 23.

In Genesis we finde that *Hamor* and *Sechem* told the men of their City that *Jacob and his children were peaceable, and therefore moved that they might dwell in the land and trade therein*; but when *Simeon* and *Levi* had treacherously slaine *Hamor*, *Sechem*, and all their males, whilst they were sore after their late circumcision, though it was in revenge that *Sechem* had first defiled their sister *Dinah*, yet *Jacob* reproved them greatly,

saying ye have troubled me, and made me to stinke amongst the inhabitants, *Gen.* 34.2.21.25.30. So when the Protestant Princes made intercession to the Emperours of *Germany*, or Kings of *France* in behalfe of such as professed the reformed Religion: nay, when any Christian Prince made meanes to Turke or Persian that their subjects might live within their jurisdictions enjoying Liberty of Conscience, doe we thinke they used any other arguments then that such Christians were peaceable harmlesse men, medled not with the State or Government, and desired only that they might be permitted to reside there, and enjoy the freedome of their Conscience, where they had their revenues, friends, or best meanes to get a livelihood? they moved not that such poore Christians might not be persecuted because they were of the true Religion, for every man thinkes his owne to be the truest, and though he take advice of never so many, will not let another be finall judge thereof; for Turkes have as much reason to persecute Christians, as Christians have to persecute Turkes; but for Christians to persecute one another, and yet blame one another for the same persecution; how can they chuse but thinke St. *Pauls* reprehension was not so suitable to the Romans, as themselves? and how can they expect to avoid Gods judgements mentioned in the Text, so long as they persist so wilfully, condemning others for what they doe themselves? the words are these; Therefore *thou art inexcusable, O man, whosoever thou art that judgest, for wherein thou judgest another thou condemnest thy selfe, for thou that judgest doest the same things: And thinkest thou this, O man, that judgest them which doe such things, and doest the same, that thou shalt escape the judgement?* Might not St. *Paul* if he were now living say, Thou Protestant, sayest thou a man [a Calvinist] should not persecute, and doest thou the same? Thou Calvinist, sayest thou a man [a Protestant] should not persecute, and doest thou the same? Since it is most true, that they must mutually justifie, or mutually condemne each other, and though it will be by both sides alleadged, that none are put to death amongst them meerly for Religion sake, I feare me, it may be found upon due scrutiny, how many have dyed on both sides, as well for exercising their owne Religion, as seeking to convert others; and in regard that both Calvinists, Lutherans, and all others of the reformed Religion have received and acknowledged our Saviours command to *love their neighbours as themselves*, and *doe to others as they would be done to*, and thinke they are no lesse bound then St. *Peter, when he was converted, to convert his brethren*, and this being a doctrine and point of Faith, which all reformed Christians make profession of, such of them as have been imprisoned, fined, banished, or put to death, for no other cause but

Rom. 1.1. 3.

Note.

Mat. 19. 19. Luke 6. 31. and 22 32.

what

what this point of their faith obliged them to, cannot be said other-wise then to have beene thus persecuted meerly for Religion sake? And there is this more of aggravation, that for the most part these fierce and persecuting Christians esteem each other in a damnable condition so long as they perish and dye therein, and yet either of them being by the other condemned to death shall have his pardon, if he become a convert, which is a destroying of the spirit that the flesh may be saved, just opposite to St. *Pauls* doctrine, but if he refuse, they proceed to execution, which according to their owne opinion sends them irrevocably to hell, whereas in Christian charity they ought rather to reprieve them, that there might be a possibility of their conversion: and were we not besotted with most supine carelessenes or ignorance, wee should not chuse but see that persecuting and putting to death the body of such as differ from us in religion or opinion, cannot possibly be out of charity to their soules, but must needs acknowledge that either we are guilty of their perishing both body and soule, if they dye in such opinions, or else condemne our selves on the other side for putting them to death, because they were of such a religion or opinion as accompained them to heaven: If St. *Paul* to the Corinthians prescribes all Christians a way of proceeding against sinners *for destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of our Lord Jesus*; and if hee tels *Timothy* that *a servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient, in meekenesse instructing those that oppose themselves, if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledgement of the truth, and that they may recover themselves out of the snares of the Divell*: what art thou, O Christian, who contradicting the Holy Ghost in these places of Scripture, thus puttest Christians to death after such a manner, and in such a time, as that according to the faith whereof thou thy selfe makest profession, the spirit of such Christians cannot possibly be saved, but must inevitably be damned in the day of our Lord Jesus? consider of it, I beseech thee in the feare of God, and be humbled, endeavouring to redeem thine owne misdoing by the grace of God, in earnestly petitioning his divine Goodnesse to dispose the King and Parliament for repealing some lawes, and enacting others, whereby the people may be free hereafter from so dangerous a temptation, as this power and colour of persecuting others for Religion sake leads them unto.

1 Cor. 5. 5

2 Tim. 2. 24, 25, 26.

But I must not yet leave St. *Paul* without making a little more use of so bright a light, who reproving the Corinthians in that they suffered such as committed fornication to live amongst them, though absent by virtue of his Apostleship, judged such offenders to be taken from

1 Cor. 5. 3, 4, 5. them, and by the same authority commanded the Church of Corinth to put it in execution, & that *when they came together in the name of the Lord Jesus, they should deliver such a one unto Sathan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus*: Now either this delivering up to Sathan was a present putting to death with a blasphemous inference, that the sudden putting to death is a saving of the soul, or else it is only some Ecclesiasticall and Christian censure whereby the sinner might have liberty to survive for the mortifying of his body and destroying all fleshly lusts that the soule might escape in the dreadfull day of judgement, so that such as put the body to death, as much as in them lyes, damn the soul, quite opposite to St. *Pauls* intention, who prescribed another way of justice with his expresse reason for it, *That the soule might be saved*; wherefore they may well be reproved and reprehended in his owne words to the Romans, *Despisest thou the riches of the goodnesse and forbearance and long suffering, not knowing that the goodnesse of God leadeth thee to repentance?* And whereas in other places, he saies, *We are by Christ made able ministers of the New Testament, not of the letter, but of the Spirit, for the letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life*; unlesse in this, and such other Scriptures, it be understood that the Gospel dispences ordinarily with the letter of the Law, to mitigate and qualifie temporall punishments of the body, as well as to free us from eternall torments of the soule; I doe not finde where Christian people and Commonwealths take power of sparing such offenders which by the expresse letter of the Law were commanded to be put to death.

Note.

Rom. 2. 4.

2 Cor. 3. 6

Exod. 21. 22. 15. 17. Levy. 20. 10 and 24. 17 21.

But some will say, if men be suffered to preach such grosse erronious doctrines, the number of Hereticks would quickly be so great, that true Beleevers might be swallowed up by them, as good corne which is choaked many times through abundance of tares and weeds; whereto I answer, That we should do that only which is commanded and warrantable, relying upon Gods providence concerning the event, he spares not these erronious Beleevers or Heretieks that they might seduce and pervert the faithfull, for that is impossible, but that the faithfull might in his due time reduce the misbeleevers unto the truth, who if they should be taken off presently, would for all we can expect have perished in their sinnes: And as St. *Paul* taught the Corinthians, *If a brother have a wife that beleeveth not, and she be pleased to dwell with him, let him not put her away, for the unbeleeving wife is sanctified by the beleeving husband, and what knowest thou O husband, whether thou shalt save thy wife?* Surely this text may be well applied to the whole Church which is the Spouse of Christ, and such as finally cut off the least inferiour member by persecution, be so much more justly censured and condemned by it.

Num. 35. 16. & seq.

Object.

Answ.

Joh. 24. 24

1 Cor. 7. 12. 14. 16.

Our

Our Saviour having sent his messengers to a village of the Samaritanes to make ready for him, the people of the village refused to receive them, which when *James* and *John* saw, *they desired to bring downe fire from heaven to consume them as Eliah did*, but *our Saviour rebuked them*, saying, *ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of, for the Sonne of man is not come to destroy mens lives, but to save them*; I wish this Scripture were well considered on by all that make profession of the Gospel. Luke 9. 52. & seq.

The Inquisitors of these dayes have no better ground for their strict proceedings, then the Old Testament which expressely commanded *Idolatry to be rooted out*, their *Altars to be pulled downe, and groves wherein they worshipped false gods, to be destroyed*; there have we also the example of *Eliah*, *who consumed the two Captaines with their fifties*, which were sent from the Idolatrous King *Ahaziah*: the Disciples *John* and *James*, it seems, were then of the same mind in this respect, & if they could have had their owne wills, would have caused fire from heaven to have rained upon the opposers of the New Testament as *Eliah* had done upon the Idolatrous and disobedient of the Old, but *our Saviour who was very meeknesse*, reproved them for not knowing what manner of spirit they were of, as if he should have said, you must not have the spirit of persecuters, but such a spirit as those which are to be persecuted have need of; and for this cause he had before taught them a lesson of preparation, saying, *When they persecute you in this City, flye ye into another, the disciple is not above his Master, nor the servant above his Lord: If they have called the Master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household?* And for the destruction of the groves which had beene made to commit Idolatry in, if it concerne Protestant Reformers to do the like under the Gospel, we should not finde many Churches in *England* which could escape; but whether they be all to be pulled down, or why one more then another, I leave it to such as have already delivered their opinions to make them good, wishing them to remember that in St. *Pauls* judgement, a good Christian *might have eaten of those meats which had been consecrated to their Idolls, provided it were no scandall to a weak believer.* Exod. 34. 13. Deut. 7. 5. & 12. 3. 2 King 18 4. Mich. 5. 14 2 King. 1. 1. Matth. 11. 19. Matth 10. 23, 24, 25. 2 Tim. 3. 12. 1 Cor. 8. & 10. cap.

And although this lesson was so quite contrary to the dispositions of *John* and *James* ambitious when they reasoned amongst themselves *who should be the greatest*, that they might in likelihood be the more enabled to persecute and punish others, as appeared afterwards by this rash and unadvised motion of theirs, yet the reprehension in both respects sunck so deep into their eares, that the Disciples never exercised greatnesse amongst themselves, nor persecution or compulsion towards others, much lesse prescribed it to be practised by their successors, and in Luke 9. 46.

1 Cor. 10. 32. Col. 1. 4. pursuance thereof, St. *Paul* advised, or rather required the Corinthians, and in them all Christians, that they *give no offence, neither to the Iewes nor to the Gentiles, nor to the Church of God*, and to the Colossians he saies, *walke in wisdome to them that are without*: Now what can be more against the rules of wisdome, then endeavouring to bring into the true Church such as are without by a rigorous way of persecution? we see by daily experience that men are by nothing so much obliged and engaged, as by courtesie and affable proceedings, these both win and keep the heart fast, whilst violence and constraint can at best, but prevaile upon the body, the soule even in that instant so much more alienated, as the body and outward man was forced to play the hypocrite and yeeld obedience.

What possibility is there of converting Papists, Jewes, Turkes, or Infidels to the Faith upon such grounds as most Christians hold at present? It is generally and truly agreed on, that we ought not to invade their Countries to dispossesse them of it, or their meanes, because they refuse to imbrace Christianity, and I have scarce so much as heard of any Protestants, or others of the reformed Religion (may it be spoken for their humbling and amendment) that ever employed themselves to compasse their conversion meerly for Conscience sake; few of them have meanes to come to us, and if they had, how can we thinke they would be willing if they knew they might not live amongst us, without being forced to a new Religion, before their reason and understandings were convinced in the truth thereof? and for the same respects, as also in that the Christians in their new Plantations seek more after the wealth of the Country, then propagating of the Gospel, the neighbouring people of these parts hate the very name of Christians, make such opposition against them as they are able, and at last, when they have no other remedy, flye further off, not one of a thousand desiring their society or acquaintance: can any thing be more contrary to walking in wisdome towards a people, then to practice such courses as make themselves odious and hatefull, that they cannot get to be admitted into their company? St. *Paul* having writ unto the Corinthians that they should not accompany with fornicators, lest they might mistake him, he explanes it to them afterwards, that it was not his meaning that they should altogether forbeare to keep company with the fornicators of this world, or with the covetous or extortioners, or with Idolaters, for then they must needs go out of the world, but if a brother were such a one, they should *not so much as eat with him*; from hence I conceive may be inferred, that if the Disciples of Christ had had a civill power to force a way for the Gospel, yet they thought it

1 Cor. 5. 10, 11.

either

either not lawfull or not expedient to imploy such meanes, because they forbore to make use of milder, for though they might not eat with a professed, a brother which was a notorious wilfull sinner, yet such as were without, though they were covetous, fornicators, extortioners, and Idolaters to boot, they might eat and keep company with them by St. *Pauls* permission, when they might as well have avoided it in them as in their owne brethren; and whereas Idolatry and other execrable sinnes were then so rife with all men, that St. *Paul* was forced to say in effect, that it was not possible to live, and not keep company with such sinners, yet he said not that such as would altogether avoid their company, must send such sinners out of the world, or out of the Country by persecution, which the Inquisitors of these times practise, but insinuates, that in case the world were so full of notorious sinners and misbeleevers, as that a true Beleever could not live in the world without conversing with them, and that God would not permit his people to converse with them, that then the true Beleevers themselves should rather goe out of the world, then send such notorious sinners and misbeleevers out of the world in the midst of their sinnes by persecuting them to death, which I much desire were well reflected on, as also that passage of St. *Johns* Gospel in the prayer which our Saviour makes unto his Father in behalfe of his sheep the true Beleevers, *I pray not that thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that thou shouldest keep them from the evil*: from whence it may likewise be inferred, that if the true Beleevers could not be kept from the sinne and evill of the world, in such case they ought rather to pray that God would be pleased to take themselves out of the world, then to desire that notorious sinners or misbeleevers were taken out of the world in their sins, whereas so long as they live there is hopes of their repentance.

1 Cor. 10. 27.

Nota.

Joh. 17. 15

Nota.

Our Saviour when he sent forth his Disciples, gave them charge to *preach the Gospel freely as they had received it freely, and that if they came amongst such as would not receive or heare them, they should depart thence shaking off the dust from their feet as a testimony against them*, which is farre from a commission to plant the Gospel with fire and sword, or other waies of persecution, which are practised in these dayes; and Saint *Marke* in his relation thereof makes the commission to be given them in these words, *Goe ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel unto every creature, he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned*: Now though it be not to be meant so litterally and precisely that they should preach the Gospel to irrationall creatures, yet the sense and meaning of every creature is so cleare, that none which were capable to receive the word, should be barred by persecution from hearing

Matth. 10. 14, 15.

Marke 16. 15. 16.

hearing of it preached; and whereas our Saviour saith, *he that believeth not shall be damned*, had his intention beene, that such as beleeved not should be compelled thereto, doubtlesse he would have said so in expresse words upon this occasion, rather then denounce their damnation, before he had first countenanced this so efficacious a way, as some alleadge, for to prevent it.

Object. To say the Apostles had then no civill power, and therefore they used it not, is not to the purpose, for if coercive power had been requisite, our Saviour when he sent them forth could as easily have ordered them to make use of it (in which case the Magistrate must have contributed his assistance) as to say, *heale the sicke, cleanse leapers, raise the dead, and cast out divels*, and although miracles were now quite ceased, yet it followes not that the civill sword is given to the Church to cleer the Gospels passage, for God will have no wayes or meanes made use of, but such as he himselfe prescribed with expresse order only (not to persecute but) to *depart from such as would not heare it*; and what command finde we in the word of God which warrants us to imprison, fine, banish, or put to death any one especially amongst Christians for difference of opinion in Religion? many I know are so indulgent to be contented that every man might enjoy his own Conscience quietly, but would not suffer them to have the free exercise of it, to discourse or publish their opinions unto others, but hereof I finde no ground in Scripture; St. *Paul* sayes, 1 *Cor.*9.16. *A command is laid upon me, and woe is unto me if I preach not the Gospel*; and our Saviour said unto St. *Peter*, *Luke* 22 32. *When thou art converted strengthen thy brethren*: So that the same God which commands me to trie the spirits, requires of me also that when I have found the truth, I should not withold it *like a candle under a bushell*, but teach it unto others.

Marke 4. 21.

Answ.

Object. Yea but some will say, God requires you to teach the Truth, but you teach Heresie instead thereof, and therefore you ought to be persecuted;

Answ. my answer is, That I apprehend it to be the truth, and doe but discharge my conscience, though it be erronious, desiring to see the warrant for persecuting such as teach or publish erronious doctrines, which they in their owne opinion thought had been sound: St. *Paul* in the name of the whole Ministery said, 2 *Cor.*5.20. *We are Ambassadours for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us, we pray you in Christs stead, be ye reconciled to God*: And in another place, 2 *Cor.*10.1.3.4. *I Paul my selfe beseech you by the meekenesse and gentlenesse of Christ, for though we walke in the flesh, we do not war after the flesh, for the weapons of our warfare are not carnall, but mighty through God to the pulling downe of strong holds*: So that *Paul* did war, but not according to the flesh, he did not imprison,

prison; fire, nor cut off eares, his weapons were only spirituall, the power and might of Jesus Christ, gentle exhortation and friendly admonition was the only meanes the Apostles practised, which prevailed them so mightily, and ought for that very reason to be still continued, especially since we cannot pretend any other commission but what they had, unlesse we will also seem to have had an other Gospel.

I presume no Protestant will deny, but that we are bound to endeavour the conversion of Papists, Jewes, Turkes, Pagans, Hereticks, with all Infidels & misbeleevers unto the only true and saving faith in Jesus Christ, this taske how little soever it be practised and thought on, will one day lye heavy upon all Christians, who are no lesse obliged thereto in their respective callings, then the Apostles were to *preach the Gospel to all Nations*, as was said immediately before: But as it is said in the Parable, *Mark* 3. 27. That *before one can enter into a strong mans house and spoile his goods, he must first binde the strong man: So before you can prevaile and reduce a Turk or Papist to the true reformed* Religion, you must first convince him in the errours of his owne, by the evidence of Scripture, and by the power of the Holy Ghost, and this must be done by word of mouth, by writing or by both, as I rather conceive; first, by word of mouth, in that the Apostles were expressely ordered to go and teach all Nations, which necessarily inferres their presence; and secondly, by writing, that it may be better dispersed, and more freely enjoyed at all times, places and opportunities, besides, that controversies and businesses of intricacie, are far better and more methodically stated and explaned in writing or in Print, then can possibly be delivered by word of mouth: The Poet said,

Qui velet ingenio cedere rarus erit:

But farre more rarely shall you finde a man to give preheminence in point of his Religion, each thinking his owne to be the truest; this combat therefore must be fought out upon eaven ground, on equall termes, neither side must expect to have greater liberty of speech, writing, Printing, or whatsoever else, then the other: But it will be again objected, that if such a tolleration as this be granted, the whole Kingdome will be quickly pestered with a greater confusion then that of Babel; to which I answer, That the confusion will not be such as is so much imagined and feared, though it may seem greater at first then afterwards, when every man hath associated himselfe with such as are of his owne opinion; and I crave leave to aske, if it be not a far greater confusion both before God and man, and of more dangerous consequence to the State, and their owne soules, for a thousand men and women of ten severall religions or opinions to assemble together every

Matth. 28. 19.

Object.

Answ.

Sunday in a Parish Church for feare of imprisonment, fines, banishment and worse, or else that the same thousand men and women being permitted freely, may meet in peaceable manner at the severall places according to their respective differing opinions and religion?

Object. But you will say that all these thousand men and women were good Protestants, before this licentiousnesse of being what they would, was granted them:

Answ. I answer, That they could not possibly be good Protestants, but either were hypocrites and time servers, or else that they had happened by chance, or rather by course of the Country into a meer formall profession of the Protestant Religion, whereof they were not able to render a reason if it had been demanded, & though they should have still continued as visible members of the true Protestant Church, and participated in the outward means, their actions would have been never the more accepted of the Lord whilest they had lived, nor their persons at the day of judgement.

Secondly though this confusion were yet greater then you imagine, I desire to be informed, how it may be prevented without a far worse inconvenience; first, in that I finde no expresse warrant, and lesse then expresse will not be enough to abridge any man the exercise of his Religion, which makes him sinne against his owne Conscience, and so is a *doing of evill at least, that good may come of it*, Rom. 3. 8. And secondly, because you are commanded to teach all Nations, which is impossible, unlesse you could goe and live amongst them, which you cannot reasonably imagine or conceive, that people of different religions & opinions will permit you to remaine amongst them who hold tenets, that when you have converted a considerable number, you may if you see possibility of strength to compasse it by force of fire and sword, compell the rest to be of the same Religion, much lesse will they come unto you for the same reasons, as also in that you will not permit them within your jurisdiction to make profession of their Religion, whereof they have as good opinion as you can possibly have of yours, and though perhaps they might be contented (not that they are doubtfull of their owne, but in hopes it may be to make a Proselite of you, or but of an ingenious disposition and desire to comply with you who seem so solicitous of their salvation) to hear what you alledge, why they should become good Protestants, yet you cannot in reason expect, or in equity require, that they should not have as ample priviledge as your selfe, to deliver their minds freely both in speech and writing.

We know that in most Kingdoms there are severall Courts of Justice, which having different priviledges and jurisdictions, when any man hath cause to commence a Suite, he first informes himselfe in which he may

may likelieſt finde greateſt favour of equity and juſtice, but if his adverſary gaine advantage, and force him to a triall in ſuch a Court, as according to the conſtitution thereof, he could not have ſo favourable triall as in another, the party thus agrieved forthwith appeals from that where he was overthrowne unto another, never reſting or ſubmitting, if it may be otherwiſe avoided, untill he apprehend himſelfe, to have been equally proceeded with; and yet the triall of Religion muſt ſtill be more preciſe and equitable, in that it muſt be voluntary on both ſides.

Suppoſe then that a man have a controverſie with another about land, houſes, money, merchandiſe, or what ever earthly luggage elſe, of a conſiderable valuation, is any ſo ſimple as to think that ſuch a one even whileſt he is confident of his owne right and title, will give it up unto his adverſary upon entreaty, menacies, or compulſion, and that willingly? Is it not then a greater abſurdity and incongruity of ſenſe to thinke that a man ſhould reſt contented willingly to be forced againſt his will? nay is it not a meer impoſſibility, as abſolute as the ſubſiſtance of contrarieties? can a man in one & the ſame reſpect, about the ſelf ſame thing, and at ſame time too, be both willing and yet unwilling? can he at ſame time think he hath juſt cauſe to keep poſſeſſion of ſuch land or moveables, and yet think he ought to render up poſſeſſion of them? how much more tenacious may we juſtly preſume every man to be of his religion, which he thinks to be the only true one? and how much more backward and unwilling will every one be that makes conſcience to part from his faith, whereby he expects not ſome momentary profit and advantage, but his wel-being and ſalvation unto eternity? And if being confident in mine owne Religion, I cannot poſſibly be brought to thinke otherwiſe by force, what ever violence make me profeſſe outwardly to the contrary, then will it be neceſſary to proceed by fair means, that all reaſons and inducements being alledged with equall liberty and freedome on both ſides, the whole controverſie may be fully ſtated and underſtood to the ſelf-conviction of hereſie and errour, which if other Nations of different Religions may not be permitted, and by that means freely declare and expreſſe the grounds whereon they build their faith, how falſe ſoever they be, they cannot poſſibly be convinced thereof, but will be ſo much more hardned in their opinions, conceiving them the ſounder, by how much you reſtrain the publiſhing thereof, and when they ſee you intend to perſecute them, denying an equall and indifferent triall, they will be gone again with a far more prejudicial conceit of the Proteſtant Religion then they had before, if you detaine them preforce, you do contrary to St.

Pauls doctrine, 1 *Cor.*7.15. who gave order that even *the unbelieving wife might depart, if she would depart*, and besides affright all such as hear of it, from ever comming to you afterwards.

Note. Thus does it appeare most evidently, that if you will continue your rules and maximes of persecution, besides the unwarrantableneſſe thereof, you cannot reasonably conceive a possibility to discharge our Saviours aforesaid Commission, with sundry other Scriptures for teaching of all Nations.

Besides, we finde how amongst other directions which our Saviour gave his seventy Disciples at their mission, *Luke* 10.5.6. He bids them, That *into whatsoever house they enter, they first say, Peace be to that house, and that if the son of peace be there, their peace shall rest upon it, if not, it shall returne to them againe*: and by this instruction surely we may observe, our Saviour did not intend, that his Disciples whilest they went about preaching the Gospel should crie Peace, Peace, that they might more securely instill into their Proselites a doctrine of war and persecution, and such Christian States and Churches as do since practise it, go quite opposite to that command of our Saviours, and his Disciples practise, wherein we are so much more inexcusable, in that he declared himselfe so plainly, that his meaning was, the Doctrine of Peace should be proffered to all, and that if they and it were not received, *Their peace should returne to them againe*, and they only *shake of the dust from their feet as a witnesse against them at the day of judgement*; as if he had said so on purpose, lest they meeting with such as would not receive them and their peace, should be to seek what further course to take, and thinke their labour lost, unlesse they had compelled them to receive both whether they would or no.

Note. Mat.10. 14. Mark 6.11 Luke 9. 5.

But notwithstanding our Saviours charging his Apostles to *teach all Nations*, *Matth.*28.19. And St. *Pauls* saying, *Rom.*10.17. That *faith commeth by hearing, and hearing by the word of God*; requiring *Timothy* to *be instant in season and out of season*, 2 *Tim.*4.2. The Inquisitors are ready to say with the young man in the Gospel, *Matth.*19.20. *All these things have we done*: We have preached and such will not heare us, some that heard will not beleeve us, and such as beleeve us, will not live accordingly, what shall we do with such? Answer, this is no more then St. *Paul* foretold, when he said, 2 *Tim.*2. 3,4,5. *The time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine, but after their owne lusts shall they heap to themselves teachers, having itching eares, and they shall turne away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned unto fables, but watch thou in all things, endure afflictions, doe the work of an Evangelist, make full proofe of thy ministery*; v. 2. *Reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long suffering and*

Object. *Answ.*

doctrine:

doctrine: This averſeneſſe to the ſaving truth which St. *Paul* propheſied of, was not ſo much to be diſcovered in the time of *Timothy*, as afterwards in ſucceeding ages; and St. *Pauls* directions in that behalfe to be applied to all Miniſters ſucceſſively; To the Romans he ſaith, *Rom.* 10.14. concerning his brethren the Jews, *How ſhall they beleeve in him of whom they have not heard? and how ſhall they heare without a Preacher?* But if he had lived in theſe dayes, *Paul* himſelfe muſt have been taught to ſay, Do you expect they ſhould goe to Church unleſſe you whip them thither? and how ſhall they beleeve unleſſe you beat it into them? This had been as eaſie for St. *Paul* to have preſcribed in thoſe times had it been but as good doctrine, however the practiſe of ſome Chriſtian Countries is ſo contrary to it, that more care and watchfulneſſe is uſed, that Inquiſitors be circumſpect and diligent to require conformity of the outward man, then that the word be ſincerely taught, or the Sacraments adminiſtred according to their due ſimplicity and purity, to the comfort and edifying of the inward man; theſe may make a great ſhew and bravery for the preſent, ſurpaſſing in number like the Nationall Church of the Jews when it was moſt populous, but being ſuch ſpurious Chriſtians chiefly as are begot by their illegall Inquiſition, and not nouriſhed by the *ſincere milke of the word*, 1 *Pet.* 2.2. they are never like to grow up and encreaſe in godlineſſe untill they become perfect men in Chriſt Jeſus.

St. *Paul* writing to the Romans about meats which were lawfull to be eaten, by ſuch as beleeved they might eat them, preſcribes notwithſtanding to forbeare, rather then offend a weake brother, but withall ſayes, *Rom.* 14.22,23. *Happy is he that condemneth not himſelfe in that thing which he alloweth, and he that doubteth is damned if he eateth, becauſe he eateth not of faith, for whatſoever is not of faith is ſin.* And in the ſame Chapter, verſ. 5. he ſayes, *One man eſteemeth one day above another, and another eſteemeth every day alike, let every man be fully perſwaded in his owne minde*; according to which doctrine, a mans owne conſcience was both primarily and laſtly to be reſolved fully before he eat or dranke, whether he keep holy-dayes or no, and not the Inquiſition houſe or Biſhops court: If eating with a doubting conſcience only be ſinne, what is it in ſuch as eat contrary to their conſcience? how much greater ſin is it in ſuch as goe to Church, or are preſent at worſhipping of God in ſuch a manner as they themſelves hold to be flat Idolatry; and then how comparatively greater is their ſin that force others to doe that which damnes themſelves, ſo much againſt their owne wills and diſpoſitions? But perhaps it will be objected, that they are not forced, but may chuſe whether they will come to Church or no, ſo they pay one *Object.*

Answ. third part of their revennes or some easier fine: To which I answer, That such fines, imprisonment, or lesser punishments whatsoever are justly to be accounted force, and that in the highest nature, when a man will rather resolve to hazard the losse of his own soule in going to Church with a double conscience, according to his owne tenets and opinion, then to submit to the said fines, imprisonment or other punishments; I need say no more then such going to Church is not of faith, but of feare, and faith comes by hearing, not by frighting.

Object. But it will be againe objected, That the Apostles had no power or authority from the civill Magistrate to render men obedient unto their doctrine in a compulsive way, otherwise they would in likelihood have made use of it, there being no such probable meanes under heaven as such imagine, to settle an uniformity, as fining, imprisoning, banishing,

Answ. cutting off eares, and heads too, if they see fit; whereto I answer, That the Apostles preaching, baptizing, and doing miracles, were all contrary to the authority and expresse commands of civill Magistrates, and if they had had but equall warrant from their Master, having gained such multitudes of converts as our Saviour was fain to feed miraculously at one time, about five thousand of them, all men, besides women and children; at another time foure thousand men, besides women and children, *Matth.* 14.24 and 15.38. And in the Acts it is said, *Act.* 2.41. That through *Peters* preaching, *three thousand soules were added to them in one day*, we cannot justly thinke but having once gained so many Proselites, and amongst those were souldiers, to take leaders and commanders off, they had through their numbers both means and reason, rather to encourage them in adventuring to settle, or at least to lay some ground-worke of their coercive discipline, then with such boldnesse at first to travell from place to place, from one City to another, preaching Christ Jesus undauntedly, when there was not so much as one to countenance and backe them against the civill Magistrate, or persecution of the common people.

Luke 3. 12.14. Act. 10. in the former part.

Why did the Apostles baptise or teach in the name of Jesus, being expresly commanded by the civill Magistrate to the contrary? this disobedience and offending of the higher powers had beene a sin in them, unlesse our Saviour had given them expresse commission to teach all Nations, and if coercive power had been as warrantable, and more likely means to propagate the Gospel, the Apostles were as much to blame in that they did not use it, as they should have been if they had not preached the Gospel at all; for Christ that commanded them the end, must needs understand the means thereto conducing to be comprehended in the same commission; neither could they be said to want

power

power for putting the meanes in execution, so long as they had the gift of working miracles; which doubtlesse they also practised so often as they had the divine Oracle for warrant; and of this nature was *Peters* punishing *Ananias* and *Saphira* with *sudden death*, because they had dedicated a certain possession unto the Lord, and afterwards sought to rob his Saints of part thereof: *Paul* likewise, Chap. 13. 11. struck *Elimas* the sorcerer blinde, because he sought to turn away *Paulus Sergius* the Deputy his heart from the faith: And his delivering of *Himeneus* and *Alexander* unto Satan that they might learne not to blaspheme, 1 *Tim.* 1. 20. I suppose may be understood in the same manner. Our Saviour having occasion to make use of an Asse that the Prophesie in *Zachariah* might be fulfilled, *Zach.* 9. 9. sent two of his Disciples to the village *Bethphage* to fetch one; giving them no other instructions, but that if any body said ought unto them, they should reply, *That the Lord had need of it*, *Matth.* 21. 3. Even so might the Apostles have done when they had met with obstinate people that would not receive their Gospel (especially the Jews which the Roman Magistrate in likelihood regarded little whether they were Jews or Christians) it had been but sending for a Centurian, or other officer of justice with a little ticket, that *Domino opus est*, no body should have been able to resist their will; as it is said in the Romans, *Rom.* 9. 19. the proudest *Pharaoh* must have submitted, and all his Subjects been willing to assist, besides legions of Angels which would have been in readinesse if God had pleased to warrant them in such a course.

Acts 5. 5. 10.

Matth. 26. 53.

And whereas in the Scripture before alledged, it is said, *Acts* 2. 41. That *three thousand soules were added to the Church that day*; the Text declares also, that *they which gladly received the word were baptised*, insinuating, that they which doe not willingly receive the word, ought not to be baptised, much lesse be forcibly baptised, or being first baptised in their infancie when good hopes were conceived of them, be afterwards compelled to receive the word, and participate in the ordinances when their unwillingnesse is so well known, and this to be the case of all such Christians as are forced into a Religion: But how many soules soever were added to the Church at *Peters* preaching, *Acts* 2. 47. and whereas it is said, That *the Lord added daily to the Church such as should be saved*, it cannot be said so in such Countries where the Inquisition ruleth, or people are forced to goe to Church upon penalties how small soever, there is neither adding to the Church, nor falling from, they are one and all, all of the Church, or all out of the Church, and which of the two is likeliest I am sorry to consider.

Note.

What people under heaven can boast of an outward unity, and so generall

generall a uniformity as the Papists at this day, most eminently glorious if it were to be contemplated according to humane imagination, or beheld with the eye of flesh? But do not Protestant Writers confesse of them, that they would fall into as many peeces and opinions amongst themselves, as all other Christians have in the whole world besides, if the yoke of their Inquisition bondage were but broken? Nay do not all Protestants conclude that even such a hodge-podge of uniformity cannot be compassed without an Ecclesiasticall Sovereignty? and that this Ecclesiasticall Sovereignty hath such inbred corruptions and temptations in it selfe as breeds a propensity, little lesse then unavoidably degenerating into tyranny? and that tyranny over the minde to be seventy seven times worse, then that which civill Magistrates exercise upon the body or estate? nay must it not needs follow by consequence undeniable, that if there were as good ground in Scripture for spirituall Sovereignty as there is for temporall, that this spirituall Sovereignty ought to be reduced to Monarchy, as the best and only government to settle uniformity? and would not this Pope and spirituall Monarch upon the same grounds have a better claim and title to all the world, because ecclesiasticall and spirituall forsooth, then any King or Emperour hath to his owne Dominions? All these grosse absurdities (which we so much condemne in the Pope of *Rome*, for the mystery of iniquity aimes at no lesse then all the world, their ground-worke and proceedings conclude as much, though yet it speakes not plaine) will inevitably follow the endeavouring to settle a uniformity in the Church, or such tenets as require a necessity of coercive power to be executed on the body or estate in matters meerly of Religion.

Note.

Let all Church governments be but brought to a triall, see what the Pope can say, Episcopacie, Presbyterie, or any other that stands for compulsive jurisdiction over goods or person, and though they mince it never so finely, speake never so fairly, and each of them have not really in it selfe an equall proportion of inbred putrifaction, tending unto spirituall tyranny, yet if they be well examined, though in their negatives one may condemn the other, for their affirmatives whatsoever shall be alledged by any one will be acknowledged the doctrine and principles of all the rest, and each of them for the matter, though not equally, upon most palpable consequence be found tending and endeavouring a command and dominion over the faith and consciences of men, which St. *Paul* disclaimed, 2 *Cor.* 1. 24. And when *James* and *John* the sons of *Zebedee* desired to sit on our Saviours right hand, and the other on his left in glory, he told them, *That the Princes of the Gentiles doe exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority over*

ever them, but it shall not be so among you: And when he was desired only to speake a powerfull word for execution of civill jurisdiction, that an inheritance might be devided rightly betwixt two brothers, he reprehends the party, saying, Man, who made me a judge or devider over you, *Luke* 12.13,14. And if the Apostles, and their lawfull successors in the Ministery, may not exercise dominion nor authority, what ever their minds were, their persecution would want a sting, *Mat.*20.25,26.

God will not have men persecuted for matter of Religion, lest under colour thereof, the persecuting of his deareſt Saints should seeme more justifiable: But you will say, why does he then permit the civill Magistrates to put men to death, by which proceeding innocent and guiltlesse persons have often suffered? I answer, how it is true that through the iniquity of some Countries Lawes, and malice or corruption of wicked people, innocent and simple men have too too often been condemned and put to death: But first, it is obvious to every ones capacity, how the crimes and offences for which men suffer under civill Magistrates, are by most Nations concurrently agreed upon to deserve death. Secondly, such delinquencies are more easily to be proved against the malefactors, and in matters of difficulty, as to discover whether a woman had committed adultery, the Lord had appointed a miraculous way of triall, and called it *The law of jealousies*, *Exod.*5.12. which was, that if the spirit of jealousie had possessed the husband, the Priest giving the wife a bitter water to drinke (in such manner as is related in the Story) her thigh should rot, and belly burst if she were guilty, but do her no hurt at all in case of innocencie; from whence may be inferred, that the putting any man to death, or punishing by civill Magistrates without undeniable proofe and witnesses, cannot be justified or excused without a miracle; how much more in matters of Religion, where there is no law of Gods making that commands it, and seldome righteous testimonies that can be produced to prove it? Thirdly, it lay in the malefactors power not to have committed such crimes and outrages; and last of all, civill Magistrates have the Scripture for a rule what delinquents they may put to death, and how far they may proceed in fining: but for matter of Religion it is quite otherwise; for first, no man is of opinion that another deserves to be persecuted and put to death, only, because he is of the same Religion which himselfe is of, since therein he should condemne himselfe: Secondly, if a man will himselfe, you cannot tell what Religion he is of, because whatever he is driven to make profession of, it is the heart that in this respect, either justifies or condemnes: Thirdly, though a man would use all the means which can be prescribed him, and should even himselfe be contented,

and desire that such a Religion were the true one, yet it is not in his power to think so, and consequently to be of the same in heart, until his reason and understanding be convinced thereof: And last of all there is no warrant for persecution in the Scripture, if there were, we might boldly say, *fiat justitia ruat Cœlum*, God will beare us out in whatsoever we do by his commandement, and as severe an account will he require at the dreadfull day of judgement, for all such fining, imprisoning, mutilating, and putting to death, especially of his Saints, and other conscientious people, as have been practised without it.

Rev. 18. 4. 2 Cor. 6. 17. We are bid in the Scripture to *come out of the world, and separate ourselves from the wicked, lest we partake of their judgements*, and the like; but instead of conforming hereunto, such as will not enter into Covenant, such as will not goe to Church and receive the Communion with us, we endeavour to compell them to it by pecuniary or corporall punishments, which is as much as possible to withstand and hinder such a separation: for instead of preaching unto the true Beleevers, according unto St. *Pauls* doctrine, that *they should separate themselves*, and not communicate with notorious sinners, we quite contrary turne our speech and power too, towards Papists, Blasphemers, Traitors, and the mixt multitude in generall, forcing them and the true Beleevers to assemble and communicate together, to have one Faith, one Baptisme, one Church, and whether it may involve us in one doome, I leave to others to determine, and at present only advertise, that, from hence arises a double inconvenience, one to our selves by communicating with Atheists, Papists, Traitors, Blasphemers and Reprobates of all sorts, from whom we are commanded by St. *Pauls* Epistle to *Timothy*, 2 *Tim.* 3. 5. to *turne away*, whilest we notwithstanding force them whether they will or no, to joyne with us in the most sacred Ordinances of God: the other inconvenience is to those that are so forced, by making of them hypocrites and time-servers, so much worse then they were before, or as our Saviour saith, *Matth.* 23. 15. *Two times more the children of the divell*, when perhaps what they would have done of their owne good will, though erroneous, might have been in part excused by ignorance, and a good intention, as St. *Paul* did when he persecuted the Church of God, 1 *Tim.* 1. 13. and so far are we from building up the mysticall body of Christ by compelling the personall presence of Papists, and such like, at our spirituall exercises, that it only hardens them so much more, and alienates their mindes so much further from being wrought upon, by such arguments as are alledged from reason or from Scripture.

In-

In a Sermon preached before the House of Commons the 27. of December, 1643. I finde these words, *It feareth me that a great part of the people of this land are still fond of a formall service, and a proud Prelacie*; and yet the Covenant which apparently professes a finall extirpation of them both, had found such acceptance, that I beleeve there is scarce one man in a hundred throughout all *London* but hath subscribed to it; however I am fully of the same opinion, and verily conceive that from the carriage and effect of this businesse only, it may cleerly be observed, how easily multitudes of men will permit shipwracke to be made of their soules, and consequently how incongruous and dangerous a way of proceeding it is, to joyne profit or preferment, hopes or feares, threats or force to worke upon the conscience; for although the Covenant hath passed thus currantly, I finde notwithstanding by discourse that the greatest part of people are little weaned from the present Service Booke, and wish better to Episcopacie a little reformed, I meane the rigour of it only, with some small superfluities of the Lordlinesse, and that it should still remain Diocesan, rather then Presbyteriall, or any other Church government whatsoever; but for such as hold with independencie how their stomacks can throughly digest the Covenant, I cannot any wayes imagine.

Mr. Alexander Hendersons Ser. pag. 18.

I know that much is said and done in many places in behalfe of uniformity, a Nationall Church and Covenant; which things indeed carry *a great shew of wisdome in wil-worship*, as the Apostle saith, *Col.* 3. 23. were it not that our Saviour told us, That *in vaine they worship him, teaching for doctrines, the commandements of men*, *Matth.* 15. 9.

But wherefore such labouring in vaine, and striving against the streame to obtaine a superficies, and false lustre of a Nationall Church? Doe we thinke that Gods salvation is also Nationall? Surely if the seven thousand which *never bowed knee to Baal*, had been in a body, *Eliah* would have knowne them better; we see indeed that they have all the face or shew of Mahumetans in *Turkie*, Papists in *Spaine*, and Lutherans in *Germany*, but this is the worke of man and not of God; and though the power of flesh is such to keep the purity and saving knowledge of the Gospel from them, they will be sure enough to rise up in judgement, and with their uncircumcised hearts, and law of nature, condemne the tyranny of those that kept it from them. And they allege also the great reformations wrought by *Ataxerxes*, *Ezra* 7. 23. (and other good Kings under the the Law) who said, *Whatsoever is commanded by the God of heaven, let it be diligently done for the house of the God of heaven*; and many still crie out aloud upon a reformation of Religion, or building up the mysticall Temple under the Gospel, after the

1 King. 19. 18.

Rom. 2. 27.

 same

Exod. 25. 40. & 26. 30. Heb. 8. 5. Exod. 27. 19. Esp. 7. 26.

same manner by fire and sword, never remembring, that there was expresse order and direction from God himselfe concerning every thing about the first Temple, *not a pin excepted*, whereas many of latter times, out of greater eagernesse to have the worke done, then care and consideration to the well doing, have put their owne commandment a-foot instead of Gods, requiring judgement to be executed speedily upon them that disobeyed, *whether it were to death or to banishment, to confiscation of goods or imprisonment*, with as much confidence, as though the Prophet *Ezra* had purposely recorded it, not so much that God might be glorified in *Artaxerxes* great carefulnesse, and just commands for beautifying of his Temple, as to countenance their owne wil-worship and inventions.

But did God ever say to any Christian people as he did to *Abraham*, *Gen.* 17. 8. I will give *unto thee and thy seed thy neighbours Country*, whose inhabitants were without the Covenant of workes, for an everlasting possession? How much lesse does God give thee the confiscation of thy brothers estate, whom thou wilt perhaps acknowledge to be within, and canst not possibly prove to be without the covenant of Grace, because he differs from thee in opinion, or some cases of conscience only? Did God ever say to Christians as he did to *Abraham*, v. 14. *The uncircumcised man-childe shall be cut off from his people?* If Christians have any command equivolent hereunto, why is it not impartially put in execution? If they have not, who shall answer for such as have beene persecuted or put to death without it? But as whatsoever God hath commanded should be punctually done; so what God hath not commanded, ought not to be done: the adding to in Deuteronomy, *Deut.* 12. 32. and *Johns* Revelation, *Rev.* 22. 18. is as much forbidden, as the taking from it; and *Salomon* sayes, *Prov.* 30 6. *Adde thou not unto the words of God, lest he reprove thee, and thou be found liar.* I am confident it cannot be denied, but that the endeavouring and practice of coercive power to sway the conscience in any kinde, is for the most part either expressively, or by undeniable consequence quite contrary to the principall intention and letter throughout the whole Scripture, in which respect if there were some few texts or passages which might seem to colour it, yet they ought to be so much more deliberately considered and pondered on for the honour we owe to Gods truth, and charity to our neighbour.

In *Matthews* Gospel cap. 28. 20. it is said, *Teach them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you*; But I doe not finde persecution to have been expressely commanded in any place of the Gospel: and whereas some would infer it from the words, *Let all things be done*

1 Cor. 14. 40.

decently,

decently and in order, as by the coherence with the whole Chapter it appeares plainly to relate only unto the orderly proceeding & behaviour in their assemblies or publick meetings; so it possibly cannot be made appear from hence, that there is, or ought to be a power to persecute or put to death, for then this conclusion would follow, that the Church of Corinth had commission given them to put a man to death only for indecencie, or for having done any thing which was unseemly or out of order; but this would be both a great absurdity, injustice and blasphemy to affirme: againe, Let all things be done decently and in order cannot possibly signifie, or imply a power or order of fining, imprisoning, and putting to death, unlesse you will say, that the Apostles, Disciples, and all Christian Churches, especially that of Corinth had the same power, and then you must either say that there was no delinquencie to proceed against in a coercive way, which is notoriously false, or else you must condemn them all, because they did not practise it at any time; for as the precept or command was given to the Church and Saints of Corinth, so *Pauls* meaning and intention must needs be, that they of all others should observe and practise it fully and punctually in all things that it might have been a president to others: and lastly, that the commission of decencie and order in all things was given unto the Church of Corinth, is plaine, since the whole Epistle is directed to them particularly, and by name, but it was written for instruction, and concerned equally all the Disciples & Churches of Christ, both then living, and us, as S. *Paul* saies, *On whom the ends of the world are come*: now it is grosse and preposterous to think or say, that *Paul* gave the Church of Corinth such commission, that is, an order or authority to use coercive power for the better prevailing that all things might be done decently and in order, because he knew they wanted, and could not have the assistance of the civill Magistrate thereunto; and if the coercive was not intended to them, much lesse to future Churches, who have only received the same commission after so many reversions; and can not pretend that the words thereof should have a different or larger signification in our favour, then was meant unto the Corinthians, unto whom it was immediately directed; and we may well presume that if it had signified a compulsive or Lordly jurisdiction, to have been put in execution by Christian Churches or Common-wealths in after ages, which cannot be because of so many absurd consequences which follow thereupon, yet *dato & non concesso*, in such case I say, the Apostles and primitive Christians, though they themselves had wanted coercive meanes and power, would notwithstanding infallibly have left some ground or warrant inserted in the letter of the Gospel, to be conveyed

Note. 1 Cor. 1. 2. Cap 9. 10. Cap. 10. 11 8

Note.

veyed successively unto posterity, for their better direction in the business of such concernments, and so great obscurity in that sense which is objected; but if the point be intricate or dubious, the safest way is to proceed no further then we have a precept or president of our Saviour or his Apostles to warrant us, especially in matters of so high a nature, as are the worship and service of God Almighty, the Discipline of his House, and tender consciences of his dearest Saints.

1 Tim. 3. 12 4.14. Tit. 1.5. 1 Tim. 3.8 5.1.7. Act. 6. beginning. Luke 10. 1 23. 1 Cor. 12. 10. Eph 4. 11, 12, 13. Rom. 12.8

In the Gospel we meet with *Bishops*, *a Presbytery*, *Elders*, *Deacons*, *Apostles*, *Evangelists*, *Disciples*, *Prophets*, *strange tongues*, and *Interpreters of tongues*, *Elders that rule well*, *and labour in the Ministery*, some to *take care of poore widowes*, others *for exhortation*, *Pastors*, *Teachers for perfecting of the Saints*, *for the worke of the Ministery*, *for the edifying of the body of Christ untill we all come in the unity of the faith*, as St. *Paul* sayes: But what spirit of truth doe we ever meet with which saies that any of these were given for the corporall imprisoning, banishing, or putting to death the body of Christ, which are his Saints, as of latter times too too often hath beene practised? where finde wee in the Gospel order or authority to convent, accuse and arraigne men with power of life and death for matters of religion or opinion only? this is but traditionall, and far short from being Cannonicall and Christian; it is true we finde here a *precept* for endeavouring to accomplish a unity of faith in the Saints, or the Saints in the unity of faith, but this was neither universall nor nationall unity, as appeares afterwards, where he sayes unto the same Ephesians, *Walke not as other Gentiles walke in the vanity of their mindes*, much lesse was any constraint or compulsion ordered or intended to be used, for then both they and all other Christian Churches had been bound to make all others walke with them in unity of faith, or to walke unto the gallowes; and the Apostles admonition in such case would have been both more proper and effectuall which the Ephesians, as such Church commanders pretend, if he had said, Walke not as other Gentiles, who because they will not walke with you in unity of Religion, and uniformity of discipline, are deservedly compelled to walke unto the gallowes.

Verse 17.

Hath it not often been instilled into the eares of Princes, as *Haman* the great favourite did unto King *Ahasuerus* concerning the Jewes Gods people, who were then afflicted in captivity, and so abjectly contemptible, that they could not possibly be dangerous to the State? and yet proud *Haman*, *Esther* 3.8.9. &c. only because a consciencious *Mordecai* was scrupulous and could not bow and doe reverence to him as the King commanded, informed his Majesty that there was *a certaine people scattered abroad, and dispersed into all Provinces of his King-*

dome,

dome, whose lawes were diverse from all people, neither kept they the Kings lawes, and therefore it was not for the Kings profit to suffer them: in which respect, if it pleased his Majesty that letters might be writ for their destruction; *he promised to pay ten thousand talents of silver into the Kings treasurie*; hereupon the King consented to the Edict, that *all of them men, women and children should be massacred*, and for *Hamans* good counsell, remitted the ten thousand talents of silver, and gave him the poore Jews to boot, to be murdered in such a manner as his cruelty could best contrive: Oh how often hath this wicked advice of *Haman* been practised upon Gods best people in all parts of Christendome? for there are Puritanes both in *Spaine* and *Italy*, in greater numbers then ever appeared in *England* before this present Parliament, and permitted to meet and walke peaceably up and downe the streets together, more numerous then ever yet I saw in *London*, may it, in Gods time, be spoken to the greater humbling, then shame of this Nation and all Protestantes besides.

But how often thinke we may it have been suggested unto our Gracious Soveraignes, and insinuated unto the people, how disserviceable and dangerous the Puritanes were unto the State? surely not seldome, or else they would never have reduced so many thousands of them into a necessity of leaving the Land, and carry with them their gifts, arts, and manufactures into other Countries, to the greatest detriment of this Common-wealth, and yet far greater losse and judgement unto Gods Church in *England*. But what hath been the end of the grand Politicians and Persecuters? may it not be observed, that like *Haman* who was hanged on the gallowes, which he himselfe had caused to be set up for *Mordecai*, so many, nay, very many of the greatest that ever yet appeared enemies unto Gods people, have been taken in their own nets, and felt those penalties and proceedings, which they first invented and practised upon others? And as that villanous designe of *Hamans*, *Est.* 8.8. through Gods providence proved so much more successefull unto the Jewes; in like manner may the sun-shine of Gods love have beene seene to breake out still more bright and comfortable towards such as in all times have been reproached for Puritanes, I may not say for any deserts or works of theirs, but through Gods most gracious providence, which as *Mordecai* foretold to *Esther*, cap. 4. 14. hath wrought enlargement and deliverance to them, though they perhaps may be said to have endeavoured it, not without many weaknesses and failings.

But since God both can and will finish his owne great work of Reformation in spight of all opposition, *Let such as thinke they stand take heed lest they fall*, and may it be far from any of Gods good servants to imagine *Note.* 1 Cor. 10. 12.

imagine that God delivered them out of persecution to the end they
Gal.4.28, might be inabled to persecute their brethren; Persecution is a sinne,
29. a signe of the Church malignant, and no degree thereof dispensable by Popery, Episcopacie, or Presbytery, neither may God be thought to be the author of it, or countenance it further then he doth other sinnes by barely permitting them in wrath and judgement to chastise and scourge a sinfull people, the whole Kingdome did acknowledge it whilest Popery domineered, the greatest part are weary of it in Prelacie; O let Presbytery be forewarned thereby, and know that they have the same temptation which was common to both the other Go-
1 Cor. 10. vernments, and wherein they miscarried. The Jewes came out with
13. swords and staves to apprehend our Saviour, but God never blessed them in it, nor sanctified them since to bring men in, and made profession of the Gospel. Let all the reasons, grounds and principles for a coercive power and discipline in matter of Religion be produced, and it will most evidently appeare how Presbytery cannot possibly alledge more, or better then what the Papacie and Prelacie first brought to light, all having the self same inbred matter and corruption in them, which infallibly, though not with equal posting, inclines them naturally to degenerate into tyranny & persecution, and the work which they all fight against, being of God, *cannot possibly be overthrowne*, but will
Act.5.39. notwithstanding be brought about to the greater misery and confusion of all such, who if they would make strickt enquiry with an upright heart into the nature of such government, could not likely chuse, having felt or understood the bondage which this Kingdome hath already twice suffered under it, but see the malignant poyson and putrifaction which is bred and lyes lurking within the bowells thereof, and be weary of it; yet I forbeare to judge, and in all meeknesse beseech that they would be as backwards in judging others.

The Italians have a Proverbe that whosoever goes beyond his commission must run the hazard of it for his owne account; but for such who have no commission at all, and yet take away the liberty, livelihood, limbs and lives of their Christian brethren, and that for meere matter of conscience only, cannot amount to lesse then the shedding of innocent blould, that crying sinne, for which the Jewes remain still scattered upon the face of the earth untill this day: But have the Jews been thus afflicted for putting Christ to death, and a few of Gods Prophets only, how excessive then will be the torments of such Christian States which have persecuted and put to death thousands of Christians for every single soule which was executed by the Jews, and that principally because such Christians differed from them onely in opinion,

when

when if they had been Turkes or Pagans they might likely have escaped? But you will say perhaps, that the Jews put Christ to death the ransome and Saviour of the whole world: I answer, That they knew him not to be Christ, and that the Jewes had then better grounds and warrant to *put a blasphemer to death*, and *such they accounted Jesus*, then Christians have now. Secondly, I answer, That when *Joseph* perceived that his brethren were troubled in minde and grieved for having sold him into slavery, making himselfe knowne, bid them not be grieved or angry with themselves, for that *God had sent him before into Egypt to preserve their lives*: and our Saviour after they had laid hands on him, and apprehending him, for the comfort no doubt of repentant Jewes, was pleased so say, That if he had prayed, *his Father could have given him more then twelve legions of Angels, but then the Scriptures would not have been fulfilled, that it must be so*, and that *all was done that the Scriptures of the Prophets might be fulfilled*. In *John* we finde that *therefore they could not believe because Esaias saith, He hath blinded their eyes*, *Joh.* 12. 39. 40. And whereas the same Evangelist saith, 1 *John* 4. 20. *He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how shall he love God whom he hath not seen*: So the Jews, though they saw Jesus and crucified him, yet they knew him not to be God, and by *Johns* way of arguing, were so much more to be excused, and the sinne of Christians aggravated, who doe not only know their brethren, but many times acknowledge that they setting aside the difference of opinion, have more eminent gifts and abilities then themselves, and yet will not forbeare to perplex and persecute them, and according to the principles which many of them hold and practise, had they been living in our Saviours dayes, they would have been far likelier to have crucified him, then were the Jews themselves: And who can resolve me, whether the penitent thiefe was not once guilty, and actually consenting unto Christs death? or whether such Christians as come short in nothing, but that they have not Christ on earth in their power, will not be one day found guilty of crucifying him againe, though they could not act it upon his person: besides the Saints are *coheires with Christ*, they are *his beloved ones*, *his glory*, *his Spouse*, nay they are *his body*, they are *Christ* himselfe, they are all *Anointed* of the Lord, and we are forbid to *touch them*: Oh let us not be longer guilty of persecuting the least of them: And whereas Saint *Paul* exhorted the Hebrewes that they should not be forgetfull to *entertaine strangers*, because *some thereby had entertained Angels unawares*; I humbly with all Christian people would, in the feare of God, consider, whether in putting their Christian brethren to death for matters of conscience & Religion only, they do not run a thousand times greater

Object. *Answ.* Lev. 24. 16. & Matth. 26. 65. Gen. 45. 3. 5. Matth. 26. 53. 54. 56. *Note.* Rom. 8. 17 Rev. 2. 9. Psa. 108. 6. Eph. 1. 23. 1 Cor. 12. 12. Ps. 105. 15 2 Cor. 8. 23 Heb. 13. 2 Gen. 18. 3. and 19. 3.

Heb. 12. 23. hazard to spill the innocent bloud of Gods choicest people, *his first borne whose names are written in heaven*, and that it be imputed to them to have crucified the Lord himselfe againe, far more wilfully then the Jewes, Matth. 25. 40. 45. because *we crucifie him in his Saints*, our brethren, *whom we have both seen and knowne.*

It is said in the Acts, *Act.* 18. 12, 13, 14, 16. that when *Gallio* was Deputy of *Achaia*, the Jewes made insurrection with one accord against *Paul*, and brought him to the judgement seat, saying, This fellow *perswadeth men to worship God contrary to the Law*, but *Gallio* answered the Jews, and told them, *if it were a matter of wrong or wicked lewdnesse*, he would have done as equity required, and here with drove them from the judgement seat: now though no doubt but God guided this proceeding of *Gallio*, that *Paul* might have the better opportunity to preach the Gospel, so is *Gallio* his judgement more remarkable, who at such a time and instant, as God had over him a speciall, and more then ordinary providence could say, (though it is likely that he regarded alike the Jewish and the Christian Religion, yet we who are under the Gospel may especially learne it from him) that the worshiping of God in a different manner, though contrary to an established civill Law, according as men finde themselves bound in conscience, which must not be wavering or doubting, ought not to be interpreted or accounted as wicked lewdnesse, or a matter of wrong to those that were of another opinion, much lesse be punished as such. *Note.*

The passage of *Gamaliel*, *Act.* cap. 5. and what he said to dissuade the Jewes from persecuting the Apostles to death, is no lesse worth our serious consideration: The Apostles having cured and converted multitudes of people, vers. 18. the high Priest and all that were with him being full of indignation, laid hands on the Apostles and put them into prison, but the Lord who never forsakes those that trust in him, sent an Angel and brought them out againe; the Apostles according as the Angel bid them, went into the Temple to teach the word of life, which when the Jewes understood, they caused them to be apprehended and brought before the Councell that they might be put to death: The Jewes having finished their accusations, and the Apostles answered what God inspired them with for their owne defence, *Gamaliel* one of the Councell, a Pharisie, a great Doctor of the Law, and in reputation among the people, having commanded the Apostles to withdraw, said unto them, vers. 35. Ye men of Israel, *take heed to your selves what ye intend to doe concerning these men*, and having given examples of *Theudas* and *Judas* who for a while drawing much people to them, were afterwards dispersed, exhorted them to *let the Apostles alone*, saying, v. 38. 39.

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If this counsell or this worke be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, lest happily ye be found even to fight against God; and the Jewes agreed thereunto. I know that most men now adayes, either reflect little upon these Scriptures, or account both *Gamaliel* and *Gallio* to have plaid the worldly politicians in this businesse, and not being fervent in their owne Religion, tooke care only to quiet the people for the present, alledging, that we must not live like those that lay, let the world goe how it list, nor expect that God will relieve us when we lye still in the ditch, and cry God helpe us only; but I desire such to consider, that as the like waters are so distastefull unto God, that he hath declared himselfe *to spue them out*; so he hath also said, that men many times have *a zeale without knowledge*; and that *the wrath of man worketh not the righteousnesse of God*; for which cause *James* exhorts them to *be slow to wrath*.

Object.

Answ.

Rev. 3. 16. Rom. 10. 2. Jam. 1. 19. 20.

Gamaliel and *Gallio* are not to be looked upon barely as politicians, who in that respect might be biased, & carried away through their own private interest, or that of State, but their reason should be truly valued by men of moderate temper, not without zeale, the more the better so it be *according to knowledge*, but I mean such men as are not engaged to the contrary opinion: *Gamaliels* great argument was, that the Jewes should forbeare to persecute the Apostles, because they ran a hazard of fighting against God, and this was no bare jealousie or phansie of *Gamaliels*, but a most sacred truth; for we finde that our Saviour told *Paul* before he was converted, that he persecuted him, whilest he held the garments of those that stoned *Steven*, and haled the Saints both men and women up and downe before Magistrates and into prison, *Act.* 9. 4, 5. and 22. and 23. chap. And it is yet further to be observed that these advices and counsells of *Gallio* and *Gamaliel*, were not only grounded upon policie, reason and Religion, but were in favour of the Apostles, and seconded by the Spirit of God, with the liberty and successe which ensued thereon in the Apostles freer preaching of the Gospell, which in a kinde of silent manner tells us they were guided by an especiall providence to become instruments of procuring Liberty of Conscience unto the Apostles, and remains an example for all Christians to grant the like one another.

Rom. 10. 2.

Note.

Will it not be acknowledged that the Bishops in Queene *Maries* dayes, and since, persecuted many Christians, and therein resisted Christ instead of setting him up upon his throne? Yea some will say, but they were Papists in Q. *Maries* dayes, and Episcopacie is *Antichristian*, but *Presbytery* or some other government may be *Jure divino*, and will only suppresse Heresies, and setele a uniformity in the Church of Christ: I answer, that the Bishops in Queen *Maries* dayes, and since, whether

Object.

Answ.

Papists or others, did then say as much, and with equall confidence in defence of their coercive proceedings for preventing Schismes, and establishing uniformity; and that they had Gods word to backe them in it, and though I am fully assured, that God hath been pleased to discover unto us since, a greater measure of his truth then ever, yet if a Presbytery, or other Ecclesiasticall government shall silence or persecute in whatsoever manner, such Christians as are conscientious, pious in their actions, realous for God, and painfull in propagating of the Gospel, though they differ in opinion, and hold some points contrary to the current of the times, but are obedient to higher powers in civil matters that such should be persecuted whether by Presbyteriall or other government, I never yet heard other reason for it then what Antichrist himselfe alledged so long since, nor doe see any other likelihood from the politick constitution of this State, much lesse can finde evidence in Scripture, but it may run the hazard, that future times, when God shall please to enlighten us yet further, will acknowledge it to be erronious, that it will appear in the last day to have been *a fighting against God*, and *persecuting of Christ*, or at least a resisting and *quenching of the Spirit and gifts of God*, which are acknowledged to be in such men so silenced and opposed.

St. *Paul* in his Epistle to the Corinthians tells them, 1. *Cor.* 12. in the beginning, There are *diversities of gifts*, but *one Spirit, one Lord, one God*, to one, he saies, *is given the word of wisdom to an other the word of knowledge*, to one *faith*, to an other the *gift of healing*, to one the *gift of miracles*, to an other *prophesie*; to one *discerning of spirits*, to an other *divers kinds of tongues*, and to an other the *interpretation of tongues*, but *all these work by one and the selfe same Spirit*. And though all these are gifts of the Spirit, and that there is not any one of these but a man may have it, and be a reprobate, for even of faith *Paul* himself saies, 1. *Cor.* 13. 2. though he had it in such a degree as he could remove mountaines; if he had not charity withall, he were nothing, yet it is said in the 7. verse of the 12. Chaper, That *the manifestation of the Spirit in the diversity of gifts, is given to profit with*; that is for the profit and benefit of the Church to which these gifts were to be communicated: now if all these gifts are from God, and if God gave them that they might be improved or dispenced unto all Nations; nay, since in the third verse of the same Chapter, it is revealed unto us, that no man can so much as say, That *Jesus is the Lord but by the holy Ghost*: how can it be denied, but that the silencing or persecuting of any man, that hath but one or more of these gifts in him, because he wants some others, or hath not all, is not a plaine suppressing of the Holy Ghost? which though given in a smaller measure (like him

Obiect. Answ. Rom. 10. 2. Jun. 2. 19. 20. Rom. 10. 2. Note. Obiect. Note. Answ.

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that had but one talent in the Gospel, and was condemned to utter darknesse for not imploying it) or if it had extended only to the saying that Jesus is the Lord, were all given to profit by, and would doubtlesse effectually prove profitable, if they were not unwarrantably quenched. Matth. 25.

Suppose I were of the faith generally professed in New *England*, and had a brother of the Presbyterall Discipline in *Scotland*, who loving me as himselfe, desired nothing so much as to conforme me to his own opinion. I that am no whit inferiour to him in affection, that I may bee the better able to give account of my owne faith, free from the least doubting, but prepared to imbrace any truth which to me remains yet unrevealed, after I have tried it by the touchstone of Gods word; and made use of such other helpes as God hath given me, that I may be the stronger setled, and not seem obstinate in my opinion, but especially hoping hereby, as St. *Paul*, *Rom.* 9. 22. whilest he became *all things to all men*, to convince my brother in the errour of his wayes, I render my selfe complying upon his request, to heare or read whatsoever can bee said in the defence of Presbytery: Now when I have used all those lawfull meanes which he prescribed me, or could thinke any wayes available to reduce a man to that opinion, and tell him notwithstanding, that I finde not the least scruple or ground of doubting in that faith which before I made profession of; my brother, who sees no greater errour or weaknesse in me then in himselfe, hath nothing else to except against me, knowes that I cannot be of what religion or opinion I will my selfe, untill I be fully convinced about the truth thereof, and that a bare doubting in point of conscience, would bring damnation on me, can, I say, my brother Presbyter in such a case, upon good ground or reason, thinke I ought to be silenced or persecuted in any manner? Can there be a Law according to Gods word to punish me for what lay not in my power to remedy? nor may with a safe conscience be dissembled? But it will be said, that this plyablenesse and readinesse to receive such truth as shall be discovered, may be counterfet and hypocriticall, and that such as Scripture and reason doe not convince, are wilfully obstinate, or in state of reprobation, though they know it not themselves: To this I answer, That though it be said of the Jewes, This people is waxed grosse, and their eares are dull of hearing, *and their eyes have they closed, lest they should see with their eyes, and heare with their eares, and understand with their heart, and should be converted*, and I should heale them, yet it was not meant that every one of that Nation was hardned, or of any particular person that he could bee distinguished from the rest, nay it is plaine, there are no signes or to- *Object.* *Answ.* Act. 28. 27.

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Luke 8. 43,44. Act 22. ken given us infallibly to know an obstinate or reprobate heart by, for though it be said, *A good tree doth not bring forth bad fruit, & you shall know the tree by the fruit*, and that *of thornes men do not gather figs, nor of brambles grapes*; yet we know that *Paul* persecuted, & was a blasphemer to the last, even till he was vocally called by Christ from heaven; and the

Joh. 6. 44. same Christ when he was on earth said, *No man can come unto me except the Father draw him*, and therefore we have expresse order to *judge no*

1 Cor. 4. 5. *thing before the time*, untill the Lord come who will bring to light the hidden things of darknesse; and St. *Paul* saies, *Rom.* 14. 4. *Who art thou that judgest an other mans servant, to his owne master he standeth or falleth, yea he shall be upheld, for God is able to make him stand?*

We finde in *Matthew, Mark.* 17. 5. that the Apostles heard a voice from heaven, saying, This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased, heare ye him: And our Saviour bid them *tell no body these of rise he was risen again from the dead*: whence we may be informed, that *Heare ye him*, was not said so much to the Apostles themselves, as to all Christians in their generations to the end of the world; for if that vision, and that doctrine of *Heare ye Christ*, be not to be taught till after our Saviour be risen from the dead, after which time he had but a few dayes to spend amongst them on earth, then must it follow, That it is Christ still that speaks to us in his Gospel, and by the Ministers of his Gospel, the power which the Ministers of the Church have, is the power of

Matth. 28, 18. Joh. 18. 36 Christ, who is the head of the Church, and though Christ as he is God, hath power equall with God, and all power was given unto him in Heaven and in Earth; yet as he said his Kingdom was not of this world, so neither may the Church imploy the power of the world, or use such coercive meanes in the government of his Kingdome, as men be forced to perform outward obedience for feare, and doe what they doe for the Church or civill powers sake, and not for Christs sake unto those people who are led to worship the Divell, lest he should doe them hurt.

And as in a politicke State, it is not safe to suffer a penny to be taken or forced from any man in an illegall way; so much lesse may in Ecclesiasticall government and power, or the Church of Christ extend their jurisdiction beyond the expresse and precise warrant of the Scripture Law, for Christs power being unlimited as he was God and Man, whosoever hyes claim thereunto to exercise it according to any other rule, subjects himself to the greatest temptation of becoming a bondslave to Satan, and the people to be enthralled by the most arbitrary and wretched tyranny and bondage of any under heaven: 4. Because they that take upon them this Supremacie of expounding Scripture

whether

whether in doctrine or discipline must lay in effect, or infer by their proceedings, that their dictates are the infallible truths of God, otherwise men will be apt to think they had as good believe their own: Secondly, that it is infallibly Gods will to have those dictates of theirs to be forced upon mens consciences: and thirdly, that they are infallibly called thereunto, & guided by Gods Spirit to see them executed; all which are the darling reasons and tenets of the Papacie to uphold the spirituall Soepter, greater than cannot be, the very Power and Spirit of God himselfe; as they pretend: and lesse would not be colour enough to force the people to receive them. Now I shall like wise to every understanding Christian so thinke and judge, whether such as exercise the same dominion and power over the conscience which the Pope does, and not give the same, or as good reason for it, may not be thought greater tyrants and usurpers in requiring such obedience and implicite faith to their owne dictates and strength, which the Pope is so modest as to acknowledge only due to an infallibility, and that infallibility to be from God? *Note.*

In civill affaires we see by experience that every man most commonly understands best his owne businesse, and such as doe not, but rely upon the managing and foresight of others, be they of what calling or condition soever, in a short time run out at heels to the utter undoing of themselves and whole families; besides we should thinke it a most grosse folly, and extravagant course in any State which did make Lawes and Statutes, that the Subject might not goe about and dispatch his worldly businesse, save in one generall prescript forme and manner, as a thing most irrationall and inequitable, because it cannot possibly be suitable to the infinite occasions and interests of a Kingdome, or lesser people: Nay, why are not all *Arts* and *Sciences* thus manacled, if *Divinity* may be so much improved thereby? why have not each of them their respective theses, positions, and conclusions limited and assigned them? why are Physicians permitted to make experiments, and kill men after what fashion they please? Surely this kinde of *Inquisition, Government* and *Discipline*, (should first have practised upon other *Arts* and *Sciences*) without daring to tamper with *Theologie* and *Conscience*) before it had proceeded master of all the rest. Besides, our Saviour in the Parable, where the more early labourers murmured, that the latter comers should have equall reward with them, said, *Is it not lawfull for me to do what I will with mine own?* So we know that every man is desirous to doe with his owne as he thinks good himselfe, (especially when others receive no wrong thereby, as in the said Parable) and if it thrive not in his owne way, he may thanke himselfe, and will like better Matth. 20 15. Ver. 13.

ter of it, and be content with what he does himselfe thought it prove ill not so, if others have the manage and ordering of it against his own desire: but in spirituall matters it holdeth much stronger, and concernes men to be more circumspect and warie, as the good or ill there of reacheth unto eternity: wherefore since it is as possible for them or him to erre, who take upon them to conduct me to heaven, as I my selfe, since it is granted that *I must give account, repent and believe for my selfe*, and cannot doe either by proxie; since *no man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of the same man which is within him*; since my salvation ought to be more deare unto my selfe then to any else, since if I miserably through mine owne choice and will, I shall easier acknowledge my destruction to be from my selfe, and declare Gods judgements to be just; If I perish by mine own folly, tis the losse of one, but if misled by others, we all fall into the ditch together, with an aggravation of our condemnation, to me that relyed finally upon others in a businesse of the greatest concernment that possibly could befall me, without other possibility or assurance of doing well, than by an implicite faith; and to them that tooke upon them to be guide and pilote unto others in a coercive way especially, when they knew not how to save themselves. For all these respects, and infinite others which might be heaped up, I desire every Christian heart, in the feare of God, to consider, and revolve in his saddest and most retired thoughts, whether it be not a much safer way in spirituall affaires, for every particular man to understand his owne estate betwixt God and himselfe, and manage his own busines; whether it be not a greater infringement of Christian liberty and proprietie, to have burdens and impositions layd upon the conscience, whereby a poore soule lives in hatefull bondage upon earth, and subjects it selfe unto perpetuall torments in hell hereafter, without a meanes or possibility to helpe himselfe, though he be sensible of the miserable state and condition wherein he is, or apprehend the inevitable destruction whereto they lead him?

Rom. 14. 12. 1 Cor. 2. 11.

Note.

If the redeeming civill rights and priviledges which hath made this present Parliament so deare, be acceptable in so high a nature as to engage the Kingdome in a war for their defence; how much more will the Liberty of Conscience, which transcends the other, as far as spirituall liberty dors temporall, engage it still further at their devotions? The civill Lawes permit Subjects to defend their estates with Swords and Guns; but what kinde of Laws are those which expose men naked, to have their Religion and Consciences assaulted? The civility of the French Nation is such, that in regard the Protestants, though they have a liberty of profession, being most commonly fewer in number

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bee in what ever company they happen, lest the Protestants should thereby be adasht as wanting courage, and not enjoy an equall liberty and freedome of conversation with the Papists; in this respect, they are so temperate and discreet, that it is held an unseemly and uncivill part, for a Papist to aske an other what Religion he is of; whereas in *England* it is ordinary with Protestants, to reproach one another with the nick-name of Puritan or Separatist, Presbyterian or Independent, even those which we cannot but acknowledge to be conscientious and jealous of offending God in any thing, and that which renders us inexcusable, is, that many times when we cannot colourably fix any of these distinctions upon a man, who differs from us in opinion, or discourse only, we are so apt to terme him malignant or Popishly affected, though never any Law was yet made to declare them such.

It is usuall with gamesters to say they had rather lose their own money, then that others should lose it for them; and surely if we took as much delight in saving our soules, as gamesters doe in losing of their money, we would quickly chuse to hazard the losse of our owne soules our selves, rather then forgoe the present joy and comfort of endevouring the salvation of them by our owne, and not by an implicite faith.

Parents or such as beare affection, when God pleases to call their friends or children out of this world by sickneſſe, have great contentment, that they were neare at hand to send for the Physitians, and provide such remedies, as if God had pleased, were likeliest to prevail for their recovery; how much more then will it encrease the miseries of the damned, when they shall thinke and see how foolish and sottish they have been, to take no care or thought of making their salvation sure, by trying of the spirits, and searching whether they were in the truth or no? How will children curse their parents, servants their masters, and whole Nations the State and Government wherein they were borne and bred, which instead of teaching them to *prove all things and* 1 Thess. 5. *hold fast that which is good*, have brought them up in blinde devotion, and 21. superstitious idolizing of whatsoever their ancestors or themselves believed, saying, they ought to be wise unto sobriety, and not preferre their own studies or judgements, before the Acts and Canons of Synods and whole Kingdomes? It is true that Christ promised he would send *the Spirit which should lead them into all truth*, and that *where two or* Joh. 16. 7. *three be gathered together in his name he will be in the midst of them*; from 13. whence, and such like Scriptures it will follow, that a Church, Synod Matth. 18. or Councell cannot erre in fundamentalls, no more then an elect Chri- 20. stian fall finally from grace; so long as such a Synod, or Church keeps close

close unto the Scriptures, and herein all Christians agree, and joyne in one confession, that the Bible is the very true and word of God, but when a Protestant Synod or Papall Councell shall goe further, and Paraphrase, make Inferences, Consequences, Conclusions, Canons, and the like; or say, this is the genuine, full and only sense and meaning of such a Text, and not as their respective adversaries object, herein they are both, though not equally, in a possibility of erring, and cannot be infallibly sure of truth, but as each of them is apt to abound in their own sense, thinking their peculiar exposition truth, and cannot chuse but believe so therewith, so ought they equally, to leave all such as differ from them, as large a liberty and freedome to enjoy their owne opinions; for though the Members of one Synod may be more learned, wise, and outwardly conscientious, and zealous in Religion then another, yet there are no infallible grounds, and tokens of Gods greater illumination and presence with one then with the other; and though a third and more superiour Synod, should see that one of the two former is in an errour, and advise them that they shall do well to assent unto the other, yet this Synod which hath two to one against it selfe, neither may, nor can forsake their owne opinions, upon the bare authority of the other two, before they see cleare evidence in Scripture, whereby their owne reason findes it selfe convinced: And since in that text according to *John* the Evangelist afore mentioned, where it is said, cap. 16. 13, 14, 15. *The Spirit shall lead them into all truth*, it appears, that that truth is no other, then what the blessed Spirit had heard and received of Christs, then much lesse may frail mankinde whether assembled in a Synod, or otherwise, thinke any thing of their owne addition, or but varied in the least tittle, to be infallible, or of equall authority with Scripture; nay, since neither Christ, nor his Disciples thought good to force men to receive their Gospel, how much more presumptuous is it in men of the same passions and infirmities with others, to impose Cannons and resolutions upon the consciences of their brethren?

Christ said unto his Disciples, *Matth. 7. 6. Give not that which is holy unto dogs, neither cast your pearles before swine lest they trample them under their feet*; and when a woman of Canaan besought him, unto whom upon the third motion, he answered, cap. 15. 26, 28. *O woman great is thy faith*; yet upon her first and second deprecation, she could obtaine no better answer, then, *It is not meet to take the childrens bread, and cast it unto dogs*. And in *Davids* Psalmes, *Psal.* 50. 16, 17. God said unto the wicked, *what hast thou to doe to take my Covenant into thy mouth, seeing thou hatest instruction, and castest my words behinde thee?* Yet these Persecutors and Inquisitors, which compell others to communion with them,

them, doe not barely poſſeſſe the ſacred Ordinances of God, by ſtable cruſing and allaring a mixt multitude admitted them, but farre more unnaturally, unchriſtianly, impiouſly, becauſe ſpiritually, theſe ſtudie of Sodome tempt, provoke and force them by ſo many ſeverall wayes to ravish and deflowre the Church their ſpirituall Mother, and dearest Spouſe of Christ: Nay, ſuppoſe Chriſt Jeſus himſelfe ſhould come againe perſonally, and live amongſt us upon earth, I would very faine be aſſured, how he might be free of being perſecuted, and crucified againe, according to the principalls of ſuch governours, if he ſhould either worke miracles, or teach, or ſpeake any thing beſides the rule of mans inventions, or above the capacity of our fraile and carnall apprehenſions.

It is acknowledged that St. *Paul* ſayes, *Rom.* 13. 1. *Let every ſoule be ſubject unto the higher powers*; but this only is meant in civill matters, and not ſuch as may concerne the inward governing and reglement of the ſoul, or affect the conſcience with remorſe and guiltineſſe; for firſt, we finde in ſeverall other texts, that if the difference be betweene Gods prerogative, and the powers on earth, *Ye muſt obey God rather then men*, and Act. 5. 29. that *Paul* the ſame ſelfe, appears clearly in the ſame Chapter, where he ſayes *Rom.* 13. 5. *Ye muſt needs be ſubject, not only for wrath, but alſo for conſcience ſake*, which cannot poſſibly ſucceed, if they commanded any thing contrary to conſcience, or the divine Supremacy, unto which only, as is ſufficiently knowledged even by the light of Nature, the conſcience is primarily ſubject, and not unto any leſſer Law or Court, without expreſſe warrant and diſpenſation. Secondly, though we muſt be ſubject unto all Powers, becauſe *the Powers and Miniſters are of God*, yet we are not bound to be ſubject to any of them, farther then their knowen reſpective powers extend, for the power which is aſſumed beyond their bounds is not of God, and ſo the reaſon which *Paul* urges, why we muſt be obedient falls to ground, I meane in reſpect of active obedience, and for paſſive, eſpecially towards thoſe that are ſupreme, I refer the Reader to ſuch as have ſo lately argued it ſo largely.

I deſire not to ſeem as thinking that Chriſtians may live as they liſt, for when *Paul* told the Galatians, *Gal.* 5. 13. that they were called unto liberty, he bid them withall, not uſe it for an occaſion to the fleſh; or that government is ever a whit the leſſe neceſſary in any Church, State, or Common-wealth, for even a Corporation, or family cannot well ſubſiſt without it; but it may not be imagined, that God did not preſcribe and leave expreſſe warrant, how he would have his owne houſe governed. *Paul* tells *Timothy* that he wrote thoſe things unto him, hoping to come in perſon ſhortly, but *in caſe he tarried longer that*

Timothy might know how he ought to behave himselfe in the house of God, 1 *Tim.* 3. 14. and as *Paul* thought these directions enough, and *Timothy* might not goe beyond commission, so neither may we imploy any other meanes, or instruments to uphold Christs government or household, then such as were by him prescribed, which St. *Paul* saies, 2 *Cor.* 10. 4, 5. are only *Spirituall, but mighty through God to the pulling downe of strong holds, casting downe imaginations, and every high thing which exalteth it selfe against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ.* And he said to the Ephesians, *Put on the armour of God that you may be able to stand against the wiles of the divell, for we wrestle not against flesh and bloud, but against the rulers of darknesse of this world, against spirituall wickednesse in high places,* Eph. 6. 11, 12. The armour prescribed by him was only spirituall, and therefore their enemies cannot be imagined otherwise then spirituall. But if civill powers, or others, have authority in matters of Religion, then their commands and Laws in that respect, must be as absolute, as in any other, and ought equally to be obeyed, which would ingage the whole Kingdome still to the Discipline of the Common-Prayer-Book, and government of Episcopacy which for the present stand established by sundry Acts of Parliament unrepealed; and all Puritans, Non-conformists or Protestant separatists of what sort soever, are as subject to persecution as any Papists, which appears by the respective Acts themselves in that behalfe, 2, and 3. *Edw.* 6. cap. 5. and 6. *Edw.* 6. cap. 1. *Eliz.* cap. 2. And if subjects may say that Episcopacie and the Service-Booke are Antichristian, contrary to the word of God, and may be their own judges in that respect, what hinders but they may say so too concerning Presbytery, or any other government? Wherefore there remaines no *medium*, either a Liberty of Conscience must be permitted us to enjoy our owne opinions in matters of Religion, or else there is a necessity of being liable and subject against Conscience, whensoever the civill powers which surely are no more infallible then Ecclesiasticall, shall happen to enact or stablish any thing else, lesse consonant and agreeing to the word of God.

And whereas the 15. Chapter of the *Acts* is commonly alledged, from whence they deduce the authority and use of Synods, with a supremacie of power in matters Ecclesiasticall, I say that whatsoever is pretended from thence in behalfe of Synods, Papists have long since said the same, and far more in favour of their Generall Councells, but that there is no ground at all in that place, neither for Synods, or Generall Councells, in that way which is pretended by either of them, besides sundry others, will manifestly appeare by these few reasons:

First, because *Paul* and *Barnabas* with the others sent from *Antioch*, did not appeare as Commissioners or Representatives at the consultation of *Jerusalem*, jointly to consult with the *Apostles and Elders* about the matter in question, but only made relation of their message, as bare messengers. 2. The Text it selfe saies, they should go to *Jerusalem* unto the *Apostles and Elders* about this question, and not unto a Synod. Thirdly, the Apostles and Elders of *Jerusalem* only, came together to consider of the businesse, as appeares by collating vers. 6. with vers. 2. and 4. the multitude which were then present, being perhaps standers by, as I may so say, or rather the Brethren also, who if they did consult in v. 23 they were the Brethren of *Jerusalem*, the naming whereof evidences more plainly, that there were no others who consulted. Fourthly, *Syria* and *Cilicia* had no Commissioners there, for if they had, they would have been named as well as *Paul* and *Barnabas*, when the *Apostles, Elders and Brethren of Jerusalem wrote their letters*, and the decree should have been published in the name of the Commissioners, and Representatives of *Antioch, Syria, Cilicia*, and all others that did consult, as well as of the Apostles, Elders, and Brethren of *Jerusalem*, had they been all assembled in a Synod, and so much more would it have obliged their respective Churches, whom they represented: But perhaps it may be not improbably conjectured that *Paul* and *Barnabas* as they passed from *Antioch* through *Cilicia* and *Syria*, understanding that the Churches there were no lesse disquieted with the same false doctrines, of their own accords informed the Apostles, Elders and Brethren of *Jerusalem* so much at some more private season, whereupon they joyned them together in their Christian care, and directed their letters jointly to all the Gentiles of *Antioch, Syria* and *Cilicia*, because it was equally available to them all, though the question was only moved by those of *Antioch*. Fifthly, the Apostles and Elders answer of *Jerusalem* does not imply any necessity of those other Churches submission unto their determination, otherwise then infallibly inspired men, as appears by ver. 28. Sixtly, the result of the Assembly, was not published, nor the letters wrote as from a Synod, but in the name of *the Church of Jerusalem to the Churches of Antioch, Syria and Cilicia*, for it saies vers. 22. It pleased *the Apostles and Elders with the whole Church* to send chosen men, &c. and vers. 23. The Apostles and Elders and Brethren send greeting, whereas had they been assembled in Pontificalibus or as a Synod, they would never have termed themselves by the denomination of a Church: And seventhly, they imposed not their decrees with *Anathema's*, or upon the Churches utmost perill of fire and sword, besides whatsoever was then decreed by that pretended Synod,

Act. 15. 4-5.

Vers. 2.

Vers. 12.

Vers. 23.

Vers. 29. was only that Christians should abstaine from meats offered unto Idols, from bloud, things strangled and from fornication, with an express preamble, That it seemed good to the Holy Ghost and them not to lay any greater burden then those necessary things, but the meat offered unto Idolls was quickly dispenced with, and for bloud and things strangled, we take liberty unto our selves; but if Synods and civill Magistrates would raise no further impositions, for matters of Religion, nor impose other penalties then are there specified, it would not be so burdensome, or so slavish a bondage to Gods Saints, and most conscientious Christians, as they have been faine to prevent by flight, or live under, to the great vexation of their soules, and perhaps not altogether without a doubting conscience.

Vers. 28.

1 Cor. 8. 8. and 10. Chap.

But why doe not Synods begin all their decrees, with, *It pleaseth the Holy Ghost and us!* &c. this methinks is more plausible and easier to be beleeved, then the forcing of their decrees and votes upon others can be digested; for if any man tell me, he is sometime miraculously inspired, I have no infallible means to disprove him, though it were false, and sometimes I may see just inducements to beleeve him, but I cannot possibly beleeve what he propounds unto me, contrary to mine owne reason and understanding; and yet though the Apostles, Elders, and Church of Christ in *Jerusalem*, were immediately inspired, and spake in the Holy Ghosts name, yet they fixed not to their decrees any other conjuration or threatnings, then, *If you doe these things, you shall doe well.*

Act 15. 29

Nazienz. ad Proco. Epist. 55. Grotii Apolog. cap. 6. p. 108.

Gregory Nazienzen could say that he never saw good end of Generall Councells; and *Hugo Grotius* in these latter times, both eminent for learning, and a friend to the Church Government of the united Provinces, does notwithstanding affirm, that he could never understand how Synods can prove a singular remedy for reconciling differences in Religion: and indeed as it may easily be observed, that Generall Councells and Synods, have seldome had good successe, so for the most part, it may easily appeare, that there could not much better be expected, for commonly the choice of such as were sent thither, was factious or siding at the least, and the whole proceedings accordingly, they sought rather to decide matters by a major part of voyces, then by mature debating and arguing of the question, they did take advantages as well for alledging their owne reasons, as concealing, or over-shadowing the reasons of such as were of contrary opinions, that they might not be heard, debated, or throughly understood, and being in all respects watchfull, how they might with craft and subtilty circumvent, and over reach one another, to compasse their private interests, or indirect ends,

which

which the respective parties that sent them thither did principally aime at, amongst other stratagems and pollicies, it hath not been the least to lay hold of such times and seasons, to make their motions or forbeare, when such, or such were present or absent, which might best further or hinder, by seconding or contradicting of their arguments.

But by Histories and Records of what passed betwixt all the Protestant Nations almost, since the Reformation, it appears plainly, that though in some Countries, and at some times, when certaine hot spirits were predominant, there hath been for a spirt, very bitter persecuting of Protestants for difference in Religion, yet their opinions and intentions when considerately resolved were still settled for Liberty of Conscience; and *Calvin* tells us, That the holy Bishops [of ancient times] did not exercise their authority in fining, imprisoning, and civill punishments, and for his owne judgement in this particular, he saies, Though he write a whole tract about punishing of Heretickes, yet he could not chuse but acknowledge so much truth in a few lines only as confutes the whole Treatise, where he tells us, That as the Church hath no power of forcing of its owne, so neither may it require such of civill Magistrates, to imploy it in a coercive way: And *Beza*, God never gave power to man for imposing Lawes upon the Conscience, nor can endure that any body besides himselfe should beare sway or dominion over the mindes of men, *de Haret. à Civil. Magist. puniendis.* The States of the united Provinces, when they first began to free themselves from the Spanish tyranny, declared, That *they took not up Armes for matter of Religion*, as appears by letters which the States of *Holland* at that time wrote unto those of *Amsterdam*, quoted by *Hugo Grotius* in his Apologie, of those that governed Holland, and the neighbouring Nations in 1618. for then *Amsterdam*, and severall other chiefe Townes were absolutely Popish for matter of Religion; and yet all those Provinces and severall Townes did unanimously agree, that, though they joyned their force against the Spaniard and common enemy, for redemption and maintenance of their priviledges and immunities, yet the liberty and freedome of Conscience should be reserved to all, and each of them respectively: The Protestants of *Switzerland* and *Germany* have published to the same purpose in their Confessions and Manifesto's, and even of latter yeares, when the Synod of Dort was first thought on to be assembled, most of the States and Townes declared themselves before hand, that it was not their intentions that the said Synod should oblige them unto any thing that was not agreeable to their laws and government, which, as I said before, had abundantly established and ratified a Liberty of Conscience to

Instit. lib. 4. cap. 11. sect. 3.

Ibid. sect. 16.

Cap. 2. §. 24.

every

every particular person that inhabited amongst them: And though upon the determination of the same Synod, in the point of Predestination against Arminians, there ensued suddenly in some few places by the instigation of a most violent party, seconded by the Prince, a fierce persecution and banishment of divers Ministers and others which were of that opinion, with a totall silencing and inhibiting them to preach, yet they were quickly restored againe, and have now their places of publicke meetings, and greater liberty then ever, and that in Amsterdam and Utreckt, where they had suffered most, to the very change and alteration of their government, as may be seen more at large in *Grotius* his Apologie: But the States of Frisia in July 1622. put out a severe edict which is to be seen in Print, that none of the Dort Synod decrees should be put in execution throughout their jurisdiction, untill they were by themselves, in their owne Courts and Magistrates approved on; and in fine, I doe not finde so much as any one place, or City throughout the united Provinces, where any one decree which that Synod passed, is at present coercively enforced upon the inhabitants in any kinde; but contrarywise it is well knowne to all, how they permit people of all Religions to live amongst them, and though they have continuall wars with Spain, and Papists in some Towns amongst them have more liberty then in others, yet every where their freedome is great, and though in some places they are one fourth or one halfe part Papists, yet doe not the States subject themselves to be terrified or troubled with jealousies or other plots and treacheries then in punishing the authours at such times as they happen to be discovered. I wish it were well weighed, whether the great liberty and freedome of the Gospel which they permit, *That Christ be preached whether through contention or of good will*, as *Paul* desired, and rejoyced at, may not be a great meanes to prevaile with God Almighty thus to prosper them although they may otherwise have failings and weaknesses, which worldly and carnall policies are most apt to bee overtaken with.

Phil. 1. 18.

If the whole manner of Gods worship were revealed unto us, or any State or Church, and that such a Church or State could be certaine to be in the present possession, and practise of the whole truth, without any mixture of superstition and Idolatry, then would there be far more colour and ground for erecting an Inquisition Office, or Spirituall Court to bring a Nation, a Countrey, or all Christendome unto a uniformity both of Discipline and Doctrine, but this appeares plainly to be otherwise in both respects: First, no Church can possibly be sure to be without a mixture of errour and superstition, in that *it is necessary*

there

there should be heresies, that they which are approved might be made manifest, and besides we are foretold that there shall be *false Christs* and *false Prophets*, and for that cause we are commanded to *trie the Spirits whether they be of God or no*: Then secondly, God is pleased only to discover the Gospel to us by peecemeals, as we become worthy and capable of the mysteries and truth thereof, which our Saviour testifies in *John*, *John* 16.12, 13. *I have yet many things to say unto you, but you cannot beare them now*, howbeit when the Spirit of truth is come, He will guide you into *all truth*: Now though the Spirit which is the Holy Ghost be come, and is with his Saints unto the end of the world, teaching and instructing them in so many wholesome truths, as are sufficient for their salvation, yet most evident it is that God still discovers *new truths* or *a greater measure of the same truths* by obedience, unto which he intends to bring unto salvation such as are then living, or to be borne hereafter; and this appeares further from St. *Pauls* words to the Corinthians, where he saies, *We know but in part*, and *when I was a childe I spake as a childe*, understood and thought as a childe, but *when I became a man, I put away childish things*, 1 *Cor.* 13.9.11. *Strong meat belongeth to men that are of a full age*, *Heb.* 5.13. In another place, *Who is sufficient for these things?* And *I have fed you with milke and not with meat, for hitherto yee were not able to beare it, neither yet are ye able, for ye are yet carnall*: And of himselfe though he were extraordinary and miraculously gifted out of a sanctified zeale magnifying himselfe unto the Philipians, he saies, *Not as though I were already perfect*, but forgetting these things which are behinde, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, *I presse towards the marke*, &c. *Phil.* 13.12,13,14. Besides, if all Christians were equally enlightned, and had the same measure and strength of faith and knowledge, it would have been needlesse for the Apostle to exhort us to *beare with one another*, there would have been no occasion for *such as are strong to comfort the weak*, nor all in generall to *bear one anothers burden*, which is required of us as the *fulfilling of the Law of Christ*, *Rom.* 15.1. *Gal.* 6.2. But the same cause which made the Corinthians incapable of meat, such further truths and mysteries as St. *Paul* had to discover unto them, resides in us doubtlesse, and that in as great a measure, which is carnality, and consequently witholds Gods Spirit from revealing a great part of his blessed will unto us, otherwise then as we grow lesse carnally minded, and more spirituall.

1 Cor. 11. 19. Matth. 24. 24. 2 Pet. 2. 1. 1 Joh. 4. 1. 1 Tim. 4. 1 Matth. 28. 20.

And whereas it will be said by some, that they have all the principalls and fundamentalls of Religion revealed unto them, whereby they may be wise unto salvation, which is as much as they are obliged to, and desire no more: I crave leave to answer such with another question or

Object. *Answ.*

Matth 6. 10. and 5. 48. Phil. 2. 5. Eph 4. 13. two, and aske, Doe you not sometimes pray, *that Gods will may be done on earth, as it is in heaven?* And are you qualified to do your part thereof? Are you *perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect? Is the same minde in you which is in Christ Jesus?* Unlesse you have attained to this perfection, according to the measure and fulnesse of Christ Jesus, there is yet a part, which unlesse you use all possible meanes to arrive to, though I cannot tell you when, or whether you shall or no, I see no ground whereby you may be sure, as yet, to have that full proportion, either of truth or knowledge, which you ought to have; much lesse how you can reasonably excuse the obstructing, as much as in you lyes, the free passage of the Gospell, the limiting and stinting of all spirituall gifts, with the quenching of Gods blessed Spirit, all which are sent for the farther instruction and illumination.

Paul tells the same Corinthians, 1 *Cor.* 2. 14. That *the naturall man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God*, for they are foolishnesse unto him, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned: And our Saviour told *Peter*, *Matth.* 16. 17. That *flesh and blood had not revealed it unto him, but his Father which is in heaven*: And St. *Peter* exhorts them to *grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ*, 2 *Pet.* 3. 18. All which are undeniable arguments, that though a Christian live never so long, yet he both may, and ought still to *grow from grace to grace, and from knowledge to knowledge*, continually ayming, and endeavouring, untill he arrive to a perfect man *according to the measure of stature and fulnesse of Christ*, in both which respects an inquisition, or persecution for matters of Religion may not be tollerated: First, because it would as much as in us lyes, still withold such saving truth and knowledge as yet undiscovered, and unto which we are to attaine by degrees only, for not any of them but at first sight and hearing, is accounted heresie to most men, and much adoe there is before we will imbrace it: And secondly, in that persecution for Religion, would render us altogether incapable of ever purging and reforming our selves from such erronious doctrines and superstitions, as are amongst us for the present, and what would this be otherwise then a *meer forme of godlinesse, but denying the power thereof*, from which *Timothy* was ordered to turne away? 2 *Tim.* 3. 5. 7. But as was said before, *Matth.* 5. 48. our Saviour commands us to be *perfect even as our heavenly Father is perfect*; and in that forme of prayer which he taught us, cap. 6. 10. we were ordered to make request, *That Gods will may be done in earth as it is in heaven*, unto which height of godlinesse we may be sure not to be arrived, being still so much further off, as we apprehend our selves to have attained it, forbearing to presse forwards, as St. *Paul* said to the Phili-

Philipians, *Phil.*3.14.15. *I presse towards the marke* for the price of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus: let us therefore *as many as be perfect be thus minded, and if in any thing you be otherwise minded God shall reveale even this unto you:* And S. *Peter* in his first Epistle generall, exhorts those Christians, *As new borne babes to desire the sincere milke of the word that they may grow thereby*, not that they should thinke themselves to have attained either unto a perfection and fulnesse of knowledge, or purity of profession, both which must be supposed, or else the ground-worke and foundation whereon they build their Inquisition house for setling a uniformity, is so much more unwarrantable and unsound. Cap. 2. v. 2. *Note.*

The Parable of our Saviour, *Matth.* 13. 29,30. wherein he forbids the pulling up the tares lest they pull up the good wheat with them, and commands, *That both tares and wheat be let grow together till harvest*, seems to me a full argument that the State should not be forwards in putting any to death, save such as are expressely warranted by the word of God, but this place makes especially against persecution for matters of Religion; for though every body can distinguish tares from corne, yet it is not so with heresies and errours in point of Doctrine; besides, the outward man may so conforme himselfe if he will, as that it is impossible for the world to finde him out, because they cannot arrive to the heart, and what ever externall meanes may be used, they worke only upon the body, and cannot reach the soule: But persecution for Religion does not only contradict the Scripture, but is contrary to common sense and reason, as will appeare if you consider, that, although we say proverbially, *facile credimus, quod libenter volumus*; yet a man of himselfe cannot possibly beleeve what he himselfe desires to beleeve, before his judgement and understanding be convinced, so that unlesse it be a good argument, to prevaile upon a mans judgement and understanding, to say, beleeve this or that point of doctrine upon penalty of losing your ears, or the like, it must needs be extravagant and unjust to practise it: let us not then goe against our owne reason, and the Scripture where it is said, That *though Paul plant, and Apollo water, it is God that gives encrease*: And our Saviour tells us, That *no man can come to him except the Father draw him*, that it is *the Spirit which quickneth*, and that *the flesh profiteth nothing*. 1 Cor. 3.6 Joh. 6. 44. 63. 65.

There is yet another place of Scripture which speakes more plainly, letting all Inquisitors and Persecutors know, that though they had the spirit of divination and discerning, wherewith they could be certaine to have discovered such as preach the Gospell out of strife and envie, and not sincerely, yet they are not to silence them, but be glad that the Gospel be preached in a weake and erronious manner, then not at all,

for even as a man that holds fast with his hands, if his feet slip, will recover himselfe againe, so if Christ the foundation be kept, though for the present they may preach and teach many a false doctrine, yet wee may be certaine that all rotten unsound superstructures and erronious tenets shall fall downe in Gods good time and season, whilest the foundation remaines sure for ever: *He that hath given us Christ, will with him,* but at his owne good pleasure *give us all things*; *Paul* thought this Rom. 8. 32 was a good argument, and so far bare with all mens infirmities, that as he sayes of himselfe to the end he might have opportunity to preach the 1 Cor 9. Gospel, *he became all things to all men, that by all meanes he might save* 20, 21, 22. *some*, unto the Jews as a Jew that he might gaine the Jews, to them that are under the Law, as under the Law, and to them that were without Law, as without Law, that he might gaine both; and lest you might thinke him a libertine in all this, and without Law to God, he tells you he was all this while *under the Law to Christ*, and doubtlesse did him no small service in thus complying: But that you may guesse in what manner and how far forth he had been indulgent at such other times, the relation whereof we doe not finde recorded, take what he saies unto the Philippians, *Phil.* 1. 16, 17, 18, 19. *Some preach Christ even of envy and strife*, and *some also upon good will*, the one preach Christ of *contention, not sincerely*, supposing to adde affliction to my bonds, but the other of *love*, knowing that I am set for the defence of the Gospel: what then? *notwithstanding every way, whether in pretence, or in truth, Christ is preached, and I therein doe rejoyce, yea and will rejoyce*, for I know that this shall turne to my salvation through your prayers, and the supply of the Spirit of Jesus Christ.

Yea will some say great shame it were if we should not rejoyce that Christ be truly preached in what manner soever; but such as we silence and persecute though they confesse and preach Christ in words, yet they hold certaine erronious tenets which strike at the foundation, and overthrow Christianity: I desire such to remember those Scriptures 1 Joh. 3. 9. which say, that, *Whosoever is borne of God doth not commit sin*, for his seed remaineth in him, and he cannot sin because he is borne of God: *Who-* John. 3. 13 *soever beleeveth in him shall not perish but have eternall life*: *And whosoever* 1 Joh. 4. 15 *shall confesse that Jesus is the Sonne of God, God dwelleth in him, and he in God*: Now as we know that *David* though he committed adultery and murder, was borne of God notwithstanding this text, because it means only that God imputes not sinne unto them that are borne of God; so he that beleeveth in God, and confesseth that Jesus is the Son of God, though he do together with this foundation, hold certain points which may seem to crosse it, and be in a great degree erronious, but contrary

to

to his owne intention, it is both very possible and probable, that such a one notwithstanding shall not perish, but God dwelleth in him, and he in God.

In the very Bible we finde leverall texts and passages which seem to thwart and contradict themselves, yet we are certaine, that the whole Scripture being the inspiration of one, and the same blessed Spirit, cannot but be at unity within it selfe, and all good Christians are fully assured thereof, though they be not able sometimes to make it appeare so to their weake and carnall understandings; and in such cases we have the example of St. *Paul*, *Rom.* 11.13. the great *Apostle of the Gentiles*, who though he testified of himselfe, that he gave his judgement *as one that had obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithfull, and thought that he also had the Spirit of God*, yet having waded into the mystery of Predestination, so far as his owne reason could arive, burst out into a most devout admiration, *O the depth of the riches both of the Wisdome and knowledge of God, how unsearchable are his judgements, and his wayes past finding out.* 1 Cor. 7. 25. 40. Rom. 11. 33.

In S. *Pauls* Epistle to the Romans, chap. 3. 28. it is said, Therefore we conclude that a *man is justified by faith without the deeds of the Law*: And St. *James* saith, *James* 2. 24. Ye see then how that *by workes a man is justified, and not by faith only*: Now as we are fully assured that these two Scriptures though they differ so much litterally, are notwithstanding not only in their owne being reconcileable, but even in our shallow capacities and apprehensions: And as God had good cause why he counted *Paul faithfull* and *put him into the Ministery, who was before a blasphemer and persecuter*: So we may safely thinke, that God can much more (after the manner of men be it spoken) tell how to prosper their endeavours, and bring unto salvation, *such as beleeve in him, and confesse Jesus to be the Son of God*, for his word and promise are engaged and cannot be frustrated through their weaknesses and unsoundnesse in some points of Discipline, Doctrine, or of both: But it will be objected, why should such be suffered to preach Christ, who withall mix unsound doctrine, since there may be teachers enough besides, who are all orthodox and unquestionable? I answer, That this is not the true state of the case, for that the Puritans or other conscientious Christians hold their owne teachers to be the soundest, and if they be silenced, conceive they are bound, without power of dispencing with themselves to heare none at all, rather then such with whom they cannot possibly joyne or be present without *a doubting and condemning conscience*; so that at the very best this can be but *a pulling up of good wheat together with the tares*, which as was said before, our Saviour would not have 1 Tim. 1. 12, 13. *Object.* *Answ.* Rom. 14. 23. Matth. 13. 29, 30.

for even as a man that holds fast with his hands, if his feet slip, will recover himselfe againe, so if Christ the foundation be kept, though for the present they may preach and teach many a false doctrine, yet wee may be certaine that all rotten unsound superstructures and erronious tenets shall fall downe in Gods good time and season, whilest the foundation remaines sure for ever: *He that hath given us Christ, will with*
Rom. 8. 32 *him*, but at his owne good pleasure *give us all things*; *Paul* thought this was a good argument, and so far bare with all mens infirmities, that as he sayes of himselfe to the end he might have opportunity to preach the
1 Cor 9. 20, 21, 22. Gospel, *he became all things to all men, that by all meanes he might save some*, unto the Jews as a Jew that he might gaine the Jews, to them that are under the Law, as under the Law, and to them that were without Law, as without Law, that he might gaine both; and lest you might thinke him a libertine in all this, and without Law to God, he tells you he was all this while *under the Law to Christ*, and doubtlesse did him no small service in thus complying: But that you may guesse in what manner and how far forth he had been indulgent at such other times, the relation whereof we doe not finde recorded, take what he saies unto the Philippians, *Phil.* 1. 16, 17, 18, 19. *Some preach Christ even of envy and strife*, and *some also upon good will*, the one preach Christ of *contention* [illegible] the
othe [illegible] spel:
wha [illegible],
Chri [illegible] now
that [illegible] sup-
ply o [illegible]
Ye [illegible] that
Chris [illegible] ence
and p [illegible] yet
they [illegible] and
overt [illegible] to remember those Scriptures
1 Joh. 3. 9. which say, that, *Whosoever is borne of God doth not commit sin*, for his seed remaineth in him, and he cannot sin because he is borne of God: *Who-*
John. 3. 13 *soever beleeveth in him shall not perish but have eternall life*: *And whosoever*
1 Joh 4. 15 *shall confesse that Jesus is the Sonne of God, God dwelleth in him, and he in God*: Now as we know that *David* though he committed adultery and murder, was borne of God notwithstanding this text, because it means only that God imputes not sinne unto them that are borne of God; so he that beleeveth in God, and confesseth that Jesus is the Son of God, though he do together with this foundation, hold certain points which may seem to crosse it, and be in a great degree erronious, but contrary

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to

to his owne intention, it is both very possible and probable, that such a one notwithstanding shall not perish, but God dwelleth in him, and he in God.

In the very Bible we finde leverall texts and passages which seem to thwart and contradict themselves, yet we are certaine, that the whole Scripture being the inspiration of one, and the same blessed Spirit, cannot but be at unity within it selfe, and all good Christians are fully assured thereof, though they be not able sometimes to make it appeare so to their weake and carnall understandings; and in such cases we have the example of St. *Paul*, *Rom.* 11.13. the great *Apostle of the Gentiles*, who though he testified of himselfe, that he gave his judgement *as one that had obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithfull*, *and thought that he also had the Spirit of God*, yet having waded into the mystery of Predestination, so far as his owne reason could arive, burst out into a most devout admiration, *O the depth of the riches both of the Wisdome and knowledge of God*, *how unsearchable are his judgements*, *and his wayes past finding out*. 1 Cor. 7. 25. 40. Rom. 11. 33.

In S. *Pauls* Epistle to the Romans, chap. 3. 28. it is said, Therefore we conclude that a *man is justified by faith without the deeds of the Law*: And St. *James* saith, *James* 2. 24. Ye see then how that *by workes a man is justified*, *and not by faith only*: Now as we are fully assured that these two Scriptures though they differ so much litterally, are notwithstanding not only in their owne being reconcileable, but even in our shallow capacities and apprehensions: And as God had good cause why he counted *Paul faithfull* and *put him into the Ministery*, *who was before a blasphemer and persecuter*: So we may safely thinke, that God can much more (after the manner of men be it spoken) tell how to prosper their endeavours, and bring unto salvation, *such as beleeve in him*, *and confesse Jesus to be the Son of God*, for his word and promise are engaged and cannot be frustrated through their weaknesses and unsoundnesse in some points of Discipline, Doctrine, or of both: But it will be objected, why should such be suffered to preach Christ, who withall mix unsound doctrine, since there may be teachers enough besides, who are all orthodox and unquestionable? I answer, That this is not the true state of the case, for that the Puritans or other conscientious Christians hold their owne teachers to be the soundest, and if they be silenced, conceive they are bound, without power of dispencing with themselves to heare none at all, rather then such with whom they cannot possibly joyne or be present without *a doubting and condemning conscience*; so that at the very best this can be but *a pulling up of good wheat together with the tares*, which as was said before, our Saviour would not have 1 Tim. 1. 12, 13. *Object.* *Answ.* Rom. 14. 23. Matth. 13. 29, 30.

Rom. 3.8. have so much as hazarded and endangered; or *in doing evill that good may come of it, which is as absolutely forbidden.*

I will therefore forbeare to make any further application of *Pauls* rejoycing so Christ were preached in whatsoever manner, but beseech with meeknesse all such as read it, to pause a little and consider, that since *Paul* rejoyced in whatsoever way that Christ was preached, *whether of contention, envy, pretence, or in truth*, how inexcusable will all those be that persecute or silence such as preach him in any other maner then they themselves prescribe, whereby many eminent abilities and gifts have been smothered and lost: To the same purpose is that place in St. *Markes* Gospel, where *John* in the name of the Apostles tells our Saviour, saying, Master, we saw one casting out divells in thy name, and he followeth not us, and *we forbad him because he followeth not us*, but Jesus said, *forbid him not, for there is no man which shall doe a miracle in my name that can lightly speake evill of me*, he that is not against us, is on our part, *Marke* 9.38,39,40.

Heb.10. 28,29. *Paul* tells the Hebrewes, how *He that despised Moses law dyed without mercy under two or three witnesses*; and askes them, *how much sorer punishment they supposed such should be thought worthy of, who have trodden under foot the Son of God*, and counted the bloud of the Covenant wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing, which is a plain evidence, that though such as live under the Gospel, and neglect or despise the means of comming to the knowledge, or yet speake against the truth thereof, deserve greater punishment then those that violated the law of *Moses*, which was certaine death in the mouth of two or three witnesses, yet he saies not that it ought to be so under the Gospel; but though he aggravate the crime as far more heynous under the Gospel, yet he declines to say they should be punished corporally in this life, and plainly insinuates that it must be left untill the day of judgement, as appeares by the coherence with the words which follow, where he brings the Lord in, saying, *Vengeance is mine, and I will recompence it:* and againe, *The Lord shall judge his people: It is a fearfull thing to fall into the hands of the living God:* And this is yet more manifest, if we consider that there had been thousands of those which thus rejected and violated the Gospel which then had not been punished with death according to the law of *Moses*, and yet *Paul* for all this did not blame those Christians for omitting to doe corporall execution on them, or leave any order that the civill Magistrate should afterwards have such power when they became Christian: And if *Paul* tells *Titus* that a Bishop must not be soone angry, nor a striker; and *Peter* bids the Elders take the oversight of Gods flocke, not being Lords over Gods heritage, but as en-

Ver. 30. 31.

Note.

Tit. 1.7. 1 Pet. 5. 2,3.

samples

samples to the flocke; how shall a Presbyter that is a striker, or that Lords it over the flocke of Christ be justified? or how can he be said to be lesse then a striker, that passes sentence of condemnation to banishment, imprisonment, and death, or not to Lord it over the flock of Christ, that imposes laws upon their consciences?

But did these persecuters of God and good men consider, that to be persecuted, is a mark and signe of the true Church, and consequently to persecute, an infallible character of unsound Christians and the Church malignant, in charity we ought to thinke they might likely be reclaimed, I shall therefore intreat them for their owne direction to call to minde, what St. *Paul* saith to the Galathians, *viz.* Now *we, Brethren as Isaac was, are the children of promise*, but *as then he that was borne after the flesh persecuted him that was borne after the Spirit, even so it is now*: This text declares how the true Church and true Beleevers are children of the promise, figured out in *Abel*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*, persecuted by *Cain*, *Ismael*, *Esau*, and their posterity, children of the bond-woman, teaching us in expresse words, that as those which persecuted in the Old Testament were not the Elect or children of the promise, so now the best servants of God were persecuted under the Gospel; which will yet appeare more plainly to such as have their understanding darkned, if they reflect likewise upon these other Scriptures: *He that loveth not his brother is not of God*, for this is the message that we heard from the beginning, that we should love one another, *not as Cain, who was of the wicked one, and slew his brother*: *and wherefore slew he him? because his works were evill, and his brothers righteous*: And our Saviour told his Disciples, *I send you as sheep in the midst of wolves*; *ye shall weep and lament, but the world shall rejoyce.*

Gal. 4. 28, 29.

Gen. 4. 8. cap. 16. 11 12. cap. 17. 4.

1 Joh. 3. 10, 11, 12.

Matth. 10. 16. Joh. 16. 20

But if the practise of persecution for difference in matters of Religion were a signe of the true Church, then that Church were likeliest to be the truest Church that did most persecute others, which I beleeve will be denied by all Protestants, or else they must condemne themselves, in suffering the Papists to go beyond them in persecuting others: and secondly, if persecution were a note of the true Church, it would instigate and encourage all States and Churches to double and encrease their persecutions, untill each of them had attained to the most exquisite degrees and height of cruelty and tyranny.

Note.

Againe, though persecution for conscience sake be never so much practised, it is condemned by all men in every body but themselves, for who is there that blames himself for persecuting others, or who would be contented to be persecuted himselfe? and so far is persecution from propagating of the Gospel, that nothing in humane appearance can possibly

possibly hinder it so much, for the Papists having got the upper hand and greatest portion of the Christian world into their power by vigour of their persecution, hinder the blessed Gospel from being truly taught in the simplicity and purity thereof; and as it is well knowne, that the best Churches have been in errours, sometimes *able to digest milke only*, not capable of strong meat, so by the rules and principalls of persecution, it were impossible to grow stronger, or come into the light of truth againe, because that according to such discipline, such as teach any new truth, or but a further measure of former truths should be persecuted, as it happened unto *Paul* and the other Apostles and Disciples, under the calumnie of sedition, heresie, blasphemy, or innovation, for *Paul* himselfe was reduced to say, I worship God after the manner which they call heresie: And whereas some will object, that the Churches in the Primitive times were weake as being newly planted, but that Christians now adaies have attained to a larger measure of strength and knowledge in the truth, I dare not subscribe thereunto, and for whatever failings, errours and false doctrines such men shall prove to have been found in the Churches of *Rome, Corinth, Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Galatia*, or any of the rest during the Apostles times, when through weakenesse and carnality they were said to have need of milke, it will full easily appeare, that, as the infallibility of the Apostles, their diversity and preheminencie of gifts, and miracles which they wrought, were far more efficacious means then at any time were since enjoyed; so none of our Protestant Churches at present, especially Nationall, but will justifie the Primitive, in our owne greater errours, both for Discipline and Doctrine: It is true that if liberty be given for men to to teach what they will, there will appeare more false Teachers then ever, yet it were better that many false doctrines were published, especially with a good intention and out of weakenesse only, then that one sound truth should be forcibly smothered or wilfully concealed; and by the incongruities and absurdities which accompany erroneous and unsound doctrines, the truth appears still more glorious, and wins others to the love thereof.

1 Cor. 3. 1.

Acts 6. 13
Acts 24. 5 14

Object.

Answ.

1 Cor. 3. 2, 3.

Heb. 5 12.

Neither is this complying with weake consciences, or the tollerating of severall opinions, any other sort of Libertinisme, then what *Paul* practised, when *he suffered all things lest he should hinder the Gospel*, and *was made all things to all, that he might save some*, at which very time hee professed himselfe notwithstanding to live not without law to God, but under law to Christ: And *Peter* tells us, *We must live as free, but not using our liberty for a cloak of maliciousnesse*, but as the servants of God, 1 *Pet.* 2. 16. And if you demand whether Hereticks then may not be reclaimed?

1 Cor 9. 12. 21. 22.

1 Pet. 2.

Object.

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I answer, That you both may, and ought to endeavour their reclaiming, not by compulsive courses, but with brotherly and Christian admonition and instructions, by evidence of Scripture in demonstration of the Spirit, and such other peaceable and quiet wayes as are warrantable by the Word of God; but for such as say, we have tried all faire means, and none but coercive will prevaile; if they had order to make use of them, how can they be sure that forcible means would have better successe? and how much more blameable are they that use them, when they neither have commission, nor assurance that they shall prevaile? *Answ.* *Reply.* *Answ.*

Our Saviour told his Disciples, That *if they were of the World, the world would love his owne*, but *he had chosen them out of the world, and therefore the world hated them*, and lest this should not prove a sufficient item to them and us, St. *Paul* tells us plainly, How *all that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution*: whereto that we may be the better induced, our Saviour in his Sermon on the Mount, amongst other blessings pronounces this unto them, *Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evill against you falsely for my sake*, rejoyce and be exceeding glad for great is your reward in heaven, for *so persecuted they the Prophets which were before you*: And lest such poor distressed Christians should be to seek, how to behave themselves in so great a temptation and distresse, the blessed Spirit of God by St. *Paul* to the Romans instructs us, *to blesse such as persecute us*, so that in these and many other Scriptures, we have the practise of persecution given us as a sign to know the Church malignant by; and to be persecuted as a love token, and most peculiar livery of Jesus Christ to distinguish true from false beleevers. Joh. 15. 19. 2 Tim. 3. 12. Matth. 5. 11. 12. Rom. 12. 14. Mat. 5. 44. Joh. 5. 16. & 15. 20. 1 Cor 4. 12.

And if it be objected, that then there must be no true Church amongst Christians, and that all of them doe persecute one another more or lesse, it will notwithstanding follow, that such Christian States and Churches as persecute most, are most corrupted, and though I could hope for their sakes which still retaine it with lesse rigour, that every smaller degree of persecuting Christians which differ from them in opinion, may not hinder such to be true Christians, though imperfect and failing in this particular, yet my earnest desires are, that all such as are causers, counsellours or instruments promoting, or not endeavouring and dissuading persecution, will seriously consider with themselves, whether, the thus persecuting one another by Christian Churches which differ in opinions, though it should not hinder them from being true Churches, yet if it may not be found, at least, an errour and exceeding great blemish in them all, even those that use it seldomest and in milder manner, expressely forbidden in so many places of Scripture, and continually declamed against by the whole proceedings of our Blessed Saviour, his Apostles, and most conscientious *Object.* *Answ.*

scientious and truly mortified Christians, famous for greatest piety and devotion in their respective generations.

Joh.3.19, 20,21. St. *John* saies, That *light is come into the world, and men loved darknesse rather then light because their deeds were evill*, for every one that doth evill, hateth light, neither commeth to the light lest his deeds should be reproved, but *he that doth the truth commeth to the light*, that his deeds may be made manifest, that they are wrought in God: Methinkes we may well resemble the true professours of Jesus Christ, to those that seek the light, that the truth which they teach may be made manifest; and contrarywise such to be false prophets and hypocrites, that hate the light lest their beloved errours and counterfeit doctrines should be discovered, reproved and forsaken: Indeed many a man hath been over confident, and delivered up his body to be burnt in a bad cause, but this should make such as have a good one, to gather so much more courage to themselves, and not decline any lawfull triall or disputation, whereby falshood would be vanquished, and the light of truth shine out, so much more amiable and bright, as before it had greater opposition.

In the ordinary course of the world betwixt two which are at law together, when either of them uses meanes to prolong the suit, and prevent what possibly he can the comming to a judgement, may we not say, and that justly too, that such a man hath a bad cause, or else that he hath not all his proofes and evidences in readinesse, especially if we suppose that he knew he had a Judge who both understood his cause fully, and would infallibly do him justice? surely the same may be said and that more warrantably concerning Religion, and differences in opinion about any point thereof.

Confidence and boldnesse prevaile sometimes, and that not a little even in a bad cause, but never fail when they maintaine a good one; we Act.4.13. may see it in the *Acts* that both *Peter* and *John*, with the cause of Jesus Christ sped the better for their boldnesse, which when the Scribes, Elders, *Annas*, and all high Priests kindred saw, and perceived that they were unlearned and ignorant men, they marvelled, and took knowledge that they had been with Jesus, And beholding the man which was healed standing with them, *they could say nothing against it*; and how wonderfully the cause prospered hereupon appears in that fourth Chapter to the *Acts*, which is well worth reading out; and cannot by a heart truly Eph.3.12. Phil.3.19. 1.20.25. sanctified be passed over without great admiration: St. *Paul* confirmes it unto the Ephesians, saying, That *through faith in Jesus Christ we have boldnesse and accesse with confidence*: And to the Philippians he hath yet a fuller expression, where he sayes, I know according to my earnest expectation, and hope that *in nothing I shall be ashamed, but that with all boldnesse, as alwaies*

alwaies, so now also Christ shall be magnified in my body, whether it be by life or death, and *having this confidence I know that I shall abide and continue with you all*, for your furtherance and joy of faith: Surely as all true Beleevers have the same good cause and Gospel, so can they not possibly fare worse if they had but such a faith and confidence as *Pauls* was: Now Jam. 2.2
true and lively faith cannot be without works, and the most eminent and glorious worke of all, is to seek the propagation of it, in such means and manner as are most warrantable, and likeliest by the precept and president of our only wise Saviour, and his blessed Apostles to prove successefull: Oh, let us not then defer the practise of it any longer! doe we suspect that errour should vanquish truth? this is so vaine that no man will confesse so much, but for their full conviction if they were so conceited, let them take notice what St. *Paul* saith to the Corinthians, *We cannot do* 2 Cor. 13.
any thing against the truth but for the truth; we may plot, contrive and 8.
endeavour whatsoever our owne depraved natures will suggest us to against it, but great is the power of truth, and it will prevaile at last; or doe we then feare that the true professours may fall from their former stedfastnesse? it is true that some which once made profession of the truth may fall from that profession, but such though they make profession of the truth, yet were they never true professours, as St. *John* saies in his 1 Joh. 2.19.
first Epistle, *They went out from us, but they were not of us*, for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us, but they went out, that they might be made manifest, that they were not all of us: And doubtlesse it were much to be desired, and all justifiable meanes to be imployed, whereby hypocrites, and such as are not true at heart, might be best moved to discover themselves of their owne accord, for then the people of God might be kept from falling into many a sin through their ill example, and avoid many a temporall judgement and affliction for holding fellowship and communion with them; but blessed be God this is the worst that can befall them, neither divells nor the deepest wiles of wicked reprobates can possibly deceive the true Professours Gods Elect. Mat. 24.
Our Saviour hath passed his word, That *not one of these little ones shall perish*, *Matth.* 18.4. And my sheep heare my voyce, and I know them, and 24.
they followe me, and I give unto them eternall life, and *they shall never perish, neither shall any man pluck them out of my hand*, *John* 10.27,28. And *Paul* saies, *We are persecuted, but not forsaken, cast down, but not destroyed*, 2 *Cor.* 4.9. And he told *Timothy* That *the foundation of God standeth sure*, having this seale, *that the Lord knoweth them that are his*, 2 *Tim.* 2.19.

But since *heresies must needs be*, though a woe betide the authours of Cap. 1. 17.
them, how much more may we well thinke should there be a Liberty of Conscience? since the authours instead of woe, may be certain of a bles-

sing, and nothing can more manifest the truth, when all such as for feare of imprisoning, fining, corporall punishment, or any worldly prerogative had heretofore made profession thereof, would now appear in their own colours, and follow the false calls of their more false teachers, leaving truth to herselfe, and such only as did imbrace her in true sincerity of heart; and yet this is not all the benefit which would accrue hereby, the greatest and best part is still behinde; for as in the Primitive times, when *Note.* Scribes, Pharises, and all the learned Doctors both Jews and Gentiles, disputed and opposed the truth with more liberty and freedome, it became then much more famous and prevailing, untill the mystery of iniquity undertooke the protecting of it by the Civill Sword, which if it Joh. 3. 8. were but sheathed againe, and the Blessed Spirit, which bloweth where it listeth, not resisted, we might even in these dayes with Gods assistance, expect to see victorious trophees, and multitudes of Christians set at liberty, and redeemed out of *Babylon* to the speedier downfall of Antichrist.

Object. But some will say that the learned and wisest men have alwaies been and are still of opinion, that it is no good policie to suffer so many severall Religions to be publickly professed in one and the same Kingdome and jurisdiction, because that though many men may be able with Scripture to defend their owne Religion, and others perhaps stedfast and obstinate enough in their opinions what ever they be, yet if contrary tenets may be debated freely, and made profession of without controle, some numbers more or lesse amongst such multitudes of people, either by importunity, worldly advantages, or in that their ignorance or little knowledge in spirituall matters, is not able to withstand the arguments which are urged against them, must needs be seduced and led away from *Answ.* the Religion established by Law: Whereto I answer, That the advice of wise and learned men if they be otherwise also as well qualified, is to be far preferred before that of ignorant and lesse wise, but such whose affections and carnall lusts are mortified, and whose gifts are sanctified, these mens counsells ought to take place before the deepest Politicians of State, or grand Rabbies of the Law or Gospel: worldly wisdome and humane learning are both usefull and expedient, when they concur with Scripture, not against it: It was the argument of the Jews against our Joh. 7. 48. Saviour and his Apostles, That *the Scribes, Pharises and great ones believed not on him*; the Papists urged the like, that all the learned Doctors and profoundest schollars throughout the Christian world were of their opinion against *Luther* and the first Reformers, and although we all acknowledge of how little account and force this argument was then, yet is it now as much stood upon, and altogether as weakly grounded, even by the greatest part of Reformed Churches, against such as yet strive for,

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and endeavour only a further Reformation: surely if such would but consider of what low condition and meane estate the Apostles were, they would never think the worse of truth, because it was held out unto them by men of most inferiour ranke and quality, this would make such as are Scripture wise to thinke the better of it, for who are likeliest to have spirituall things discovered to them, then such as are spirituall themselves? and who likeliest to be spirituall, then such as are poore, base and abject both in the eyes of others and their owne opinions? Surely St. *Paul* speaks plaine to this purpose when he saies, *Not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called*; But God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty, and *base things* of the world, and *things which are despised* hath God chosen: And againe, *where is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the disputer* of the world? hath not God made foolish the wisdome of this world? And to the Corinthians he gives a reason why God made use of men of such low ranke and esteem in the world, to be the chiefest instruments of propagating the Gospel, when he sayes, *We have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellencie of the power may be of God, and not of us*, 2 *Cor.*4.7. And in another place he saies, Christ sent me to preach the Gospel, *not with wisdome of words*, lest the crosse of Christ should be made of none effect, 1 *Cor.*1.17. If these passages of Scripture with sundry others were seriously considered, by a minde prepared to submit to Gods good will and pleasure what ever it were, when it should be discovered unto him, such a soule would not be swayd, and led away with any carnall priviledges or worldly circumstances how plausible soever, since all such are but *vanity and vexation of spirit*, as the wise man assures us: evidence of Scripture is that only which ought to be our guide in what we do or say, our supreame rule or touchstone to make triall of what we heare or see, according whereunto if we proceed, whatsoever be alledged to the contrary, we may cleerly finde, That *persecution for matters of Religion does plainly crosse so many places of Scripture, murders so many of Gods Saints, and so much hinders the propagation of the Gospel, as no other erronious tenet or heresie whatsoever: for if the Gospel had but a free passage, and the true Professours liberty to teach and publish it, this only as a sovereigne remedy and counterpoyson, would prevaile against all heresies, unlesse you will grant that errour may possibly vanquish truth:* and though our owne fond fancies should suggest never so many inconveniences to ensue thereon, we ought to rest satisfied with so great a manifestation of Gods revealed will, no waies attempting any thing, or cleaving to such opinions, which either directly, or by rationall consequence and induction may hinder the preaching of the Gospel to all Nations.

Act.4. 13. Matth.4. 18.21.

1 Cor.1. 26,27,28.

Ver.20.

Eccles.1. 2.14.

If Kings or States may lawfully enact a Religion, or settle any point of faith to be beleeved and practised by force and virtue of a new law, then ought all subjects to be conformable thereunto, and so become liable to change and alter their Religion, so often as the State and chiefest Councell of the Land shall deem just and requisite; for as our predecessours could not make a law to binde their successours irrevocably, or longer then they pleased themselves in civill matters, much lesse in what concerns the Conscience; so neither can we that are now living engage our posterity in any act, but what they may repeal at pleasure, with the same liberty and power by which it was made, since the whole Kingdome being a body politicke indowed with a supremacie, cannot have greater or lesse power over it selfe at one time then another; wherefore since it is our duty to think very reverently of Laws and Acts when once established by the highest Court, yet if we consider that they themselves doe not assume infallibility, that both they, Synods, and chiefe Generall Councells have thought it expedient and just to repeal, alter, and sometimes enact Laws, concerning Discipline and Doctrine quite contrary to their predecessours, by which means a people in their life time have been compelled to change Religion twice or thrice; my humblest desires beg leave to prostrate themselves in meeknesse and most submissive manner unto the three estates in Parliament, That all former acts which countenance persecution for matters of Religion may be repealed, and Liberty of Conscience which is the greatest liberty the Gospel brings, restored, lest whilest the prevailing party of *Protestants in England* think it lawfull to force other Protestants, because lesse in number, and differing from them in opinion, to change Religion; God in justice permit Papists to doe the like with *Protestants in Ireland*, as well for our sins as their owne, to the further desolation of both Kingdomes.

Note.

FINIS.

THE KINGS CAVSE

Rationally, briefly, and plainly debated, as it ſtands DEFACTO.

AGAINST

The Irrationall, groundleſſe miſpriſions of a ſtill deceived ſort of People.

2. SAM. 2.

Shall the Sword devoure for ever? Know yee not that it will be bitternesſe in the end?

Heu quantum potuit terra pelagique parari,
Hoc quem ciuiles hauſerunt ſanguine dextræ?

march 25 Printed Ann. Dom. 1644

THE KINGS CAVSE

Rationally, briefly, and plainly debated, as it stands DEBACTO.

AGAINST

The Irrationall, groundlesse misprisions of a still deceived sort of People.

2. SAM. 2.

Shall the Sword devoure for ever? Know yee not that it will be bitternesse in the end?

Heu quantum potuit terra pelagique parari,
Hoc quem civiles hauserunt sanguine dextra?

Printed Ann. Dom. 1644

The kings cause rationally, and *plainly debated, as it stands de Facto. &c.*

CONcerning the nature or quality of these unhappy distractions we have long groaned under, & consequntly by what name or title we may best decipher them, I need not to speake much: A civill warre it is, who sees not, yea *plusquem Civile*, more then so, an unnaturall, bloodie warre, wherein friend stands engaged upon tearmes of defiance against his friend, brother against brother, even father against the sonne, making good by this meanes in these last and dreggish times of the world that inevitably true prediction of our Saviour, *Luk.* 12. 13. what the event or issue of this warre so unluckely begun, and as obstinatly still maintained, may be, Ὁ Θεὸς οἶδεν, God he knoweth. The best we can probably expect (unlesse the same God be pleased by a timly prevention to make up the breach, must needs be a speedy overwhelming of this once flourishing Island in the generall deluge of ruine and destruction.

But enough of this; The truth herein is too notori-

ously apparent to our extreme sorrow, and rather requires the helpe of some kinde of healing salve; then of a farther corrosive. It may be worth our consideration then in the first place to observe, against whom namely be these warlike armes taken up; Against the *King* questionlesse, *Patrem patriæ*, our lawfull Soveraigne, the Lords appointed. That Ἐδημόνον καὶ Θεὸν, as one expresseth it, that *Supream power* placed in so neer adistance under God himselfe, that whereas we in modesty terme Kings or Rulers here upon earth, his vicegerents only, he hath pleased to advance them to an higher title, and plainly stiles them *Gods, I have said ye are Gods. Ps. 82. 6.* And hence further is it that we find in scripture the seat of Royall judicature, as usually termed the *Throne* of God, as the Kings *Throne*, not themselves barely the Deputies or Ministers of Men, but Gods *Ministers*, his peculiar substitutes.

All power is from God, I willingly acknowledge by some way of derivation or other: but this for certaine mor immediatly and in a neerer degree, as being the *Supreme*, 1. *pet.* 2. 15. more determinatively too in that he alone is the disposar both of Kings and Kingdomes saith the Prophet, *Dan.* 2. 21. *Dan.* 4. 17. 25. even to a porticular designation of the person frequently, as we finde it to have been (not to speake ought of exoticke governments) in the Iewish commonwealth. The Heathen ancienely by the very light of nature found out thii truth.

Θυμὸς ἡγεμόνας ἐστὶ διοτρεφέος βασιλῆος
Τιμὴ δ' ἐκ Διὸς ἐστι, saith the Poht, and another

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yet more closely.

Εἰκὼ ἔμβασιν ὡς ἐστὶν ἐμφυκοθεῖ The King (saith he) is the truest and liveliest reflex or image of God upon earth that may be; *Humani loves*, as the Latine Comœdian speaking of such persons in a straine beyond them both. And surely for this reason particularly amongst other (in my poore fancie) is that every title above mentioned of being called Gods bestowed upon them, to wit in regard of their dominion and soveraignetie over the rest, which they still retaine as a maine Relique, as it were of that Gods image at first stampt, and engraven upon the soule of man Now as I said, against this Soveragne power neverthelesse be these armes lifted up: a power so sacred, it seemes, as not to be touched or but roughly medled with; since *Touch not mine annointed* (not the cheife then be sure) is the interdictive expresse caution of the Almightie; *David* thus did but touch *Saul* by cutting off the skirt of his garment, and we see how his heart smote him streight; in as much as, *who can stretch forth his hand* saith he) *against the Lords annointed, and be guiltlesse?*

For however to colour and disguise the businesse, the King hath been all along pretended to these harsh unusall proceedings of late, as if what were done, were not against him but for him, yet is this in truth such a strange peece of state-Sophistry, that men, though of mean capacitie cannot I suppose at last but discerne easily and see through it; *Nugæ & quisquiliæ* unlesse they can possibly shew *pro & con: with and against*, termes so widely opposite to be one and the same

same, which yet will neither good Logick admit in the former, nor scripture phrase acknowledge in the latter: That saying of our Saviour, *Mar.* 10. touching matrimoniall union, *quos Deus iunxit homo separet*, is in a good sense if read backwards appliable to the present divisions, *Q. D. S. N. sung*: whom God in his secret displasur, as here, hath a while realy divided & set at distace, let none go about in pursuance of their close unjustifiable designes by bare and emptie terms to ioyne ogether. You say you are for the King, intitle him to every act, the King saith no, disclaimes it utterly, often and againe hath protested against it who may we in reason rather beleeve? especially considering those grosse & monstrous inconsequences which follow hereupon, as that thereby he is made to set forth Edicts, levie monis, wage war, and all against himselfe.

It is true (I confesse) in some cases, as where the Prince is a Minor and under age; or where he is not *compos sui* through weaknesse of his intellectualls, this may well hold, and the seeming contradiction be easily closed up: The reason is, for that there the party is not Master of his owne action, nor can he, in a legall consideration be reckoned amongst those *Aurbuses* whether in Art, or Nature, which move of themselves but as one rather who is moved from without. There both law and equitie justly commit such a one to the tuition and guidance of another. but where there rules a iudicious and discerning Prince, able to steere by the

the conduct of his own reason, there to plead your being for him, and yet goe crosse to his commands, is such a fine peece of artifice, as may serve perchance to ensnare the simpl, but withall occasion the wise to smile.

If it be here replied (as some have done) that this *Resistance* of theirs is meerely against the King his *Private*, not his *Publique*, his *Personall*, not his *Royall* commands; (for as so, say they, he must be supposed alwaies to speake in the voice of his Parliament, or else that of the Law.) A poore shift, when as they are faine to shape on this manner their evasions at the Romish forge; for thus deale they, labouring by a like art of Sophistrie, to set up Monarchicall government in the Church, as these endeavour to pull it downe in the Commonwealth. To this end have they divided (who knowes not?) the Pope even from himselfe, by considering him as he is a Man, Scas he is a Pope; As hee is a privat man say they, he may erre, but as he is Pope and sitting in the chaire, he is infallible. Such cob-web thin-spun distinctions as these, I have ever thought fitter for speculative disputes, then at any hand to bee drawne into outward practise. They carry somewhat with them, the sound, but are altogether void of substance. Otherwise by the same rule I might slay my brother, not apprehending him as one of *Adams* progenie, as my selfe am, but under the common notiorn of some sensitive kinde of creature, or say I'le rob him of his substance, not conceiving of him as my neighbour, but as of some professed enemie. And yet againe when or where will they be able, I mervaile, to finde

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the King on this wise divested of a Royall influence into all commands of state, not repugnant to the law already being; or moreover not alike still, whether placed in his Throne or out of it, representative of a publike person: These are nicities that require a ray or two of further illustration from them.

Be it further urged, that not withstanding this their resistance to his commands, yet they love and honour his person, as in duty they are bound to doe. Not so certainely neither; I am sure our Saviour, *Io.* 4. 15. teacheth another doctrine, *If yee love me* saith he, *keep my Commandements*. Mark the consequence and see 2. *Kings* 9. 30. about to destroy wicked *Iezabel* [illegible] *on my side*, saith he, *who?* and immediately we finde his commands fulfiled, *V.* 13. True love towards our governours ever begets an inward obedience or subjection of the soule, & obedience straight breaks forth into outward performances. *Obedientia* according to the Etymologie quasi *Obaudientia*: The word reports a willingnesse of hearkning and ready submitting our selves to the commands of our Superiours. In briefe it is our duty not over hastily to despute, but obey theire Mandates: otherwise of subjects we become Iudges both of them and their actions.

Being thus driven from either of those two former holds, they betake themselves for refuge to a third, and, that indeed the weakest. We have not taken up armes plead they, against the King, but against the Malignants and evil Councel which is about him here

I cannot but remember the manner of certaine Fencers or Swash-bucklers in *Rome*, anciently called the *Retiari*, whose fashion it was in fight, when as pressing eagerly upon the adversary, and endeavoring to cast their net (wherwith they were fitted for the purpose) upon him, that so they might entangle him, to crie *Piscem peto, non te peto*, I make at the fish) a fish it seemes there being engraven on the others helmet) and not at thee. So these men, they prerend a warre against the *Malignants*, but they pursue the King; yet doth not the King write them friends whom they tearme *Malignants*? Doth hee not owne and uphold them in their proceedings? So as their being against them, argues manifestly their being against him. It is a Gospell inference, *Mat.* 25.40. *For inas much as yee haue done it to on of these litle ones, the least of these my bretheren*, saith our Saviour speaking of his poore distressed Saints, *yee haue done it unto mee*, so likewise; *V.* 45. *Act.* 9.4. Howbeit they still go on, seize on his Ships and Magazines, force his Townes and Castles from him, yea shut the Gates against him, unlesse happily, as it befell *Phœdria* in the Cœmedian from his kind Mistresse, who *præamore exclusit foras*, as it is there, They likewise may be thought to haue done whatsoever hath been acted in these affronting waies, meerely out of the zeale and tenderesse of their pure affections.

This was the first consideration I made choice of to propose, concerning the *Person*, *namely against whom* this war is undertaken, the King; next I would have it considered that as it is the King, so he is a King interesse

essed to his crowne by virtue of *Inheritance*, a King, as I may say, *natus non factus*, borne so, not made, what the differenc in this case may be, as touching the validitie of interest or right to their dominions, between an *Electiue* and *Hereditary* King, (this for certaine being the more *Absolute* and unconditionall of the two; moreover the conditions what ere condescended to *Essentiall* there and *Necessary* constitutive to the very essence of Soveraigntie; here for the most part meere *Voluntary* and *Subsequent* acts of grace, and so lesse censurable (by man) upon the breach and forfeiture, then there they are) I will not make it the argument of my present discourse; nor do I produce this Topick as meaning thereby to adde any strength of supportance to his saered title; That needs not; but only as willing upon all true just grounds, to improve that dutie and loyall respect in the mindes of reasonable men, which they owe to their Soveraigne; It was somewhat surely (at leastwise the Poet thought it so) that *Agamemnon* doth so boast of the antiquitie and descent of his Scepter, fetching it downe from *Vulcan* to *Iupiter*, from *Jupiter* to *Mercury*, from *Mercury* to *Pelops*, and so onwards.

Ἥφαιστος μὲν ἔδωκε Διὶ κρονίωνι ἄνακτι
Αὐτὰ ὅρα ζεὺς δῶκε ——

We behold with a kinde of Reuerence some high and loftie long growne Oake, yet not so much for its height; as for its continuance, and as it were conquest gained

gained upon time; which ſince man himſelfe by reaſon of his naturall frailtie cannot attaine to, we reverence it in his off-ſpring. Thus it fares in private families, and thus ſhould it be much more in the line of Princes, who are *Patres Familiarum*, and ſo commended to us in Scripture under the title of being the *Heads* of their *Tribes*. The point I drive at is this: Princes by inheritance, as they have taken deep root, and are firmely ſeated in their Throne, through virtue thereof accordingly may they challenge a firmeneſſe of duty and alleagiance in the hearts of their people.

In the third place let it be conſidered, that as hee is an *Hereditary* KING; ſo Hee is a *Good and Gracious* KING; a Prince ſingularly accompliſht throughout, Malice her ſelfe, for ought I could ever heare, hath not in this particular whereon ſhe can juſtly diſcharge her envenomed rancour; looke upon him in his owne line up to the top of his ancient and long renowned pedigree, treading through the whole ſeries of his famous Predeceſſours; Or look upon him in a Collaterall line, and compare him with the neighbouring Princes about, and without offence, I ſuppoſe, (take him but in all reſpects) I may parallel, if not preferre him to the beſt. *Quaris Alcide parem.*

Nemo eſt niſi Ipſe; what *Zenophon* hath delivered of Princes in the Idea for moral vertues requiſite behoofefull in them, and what *Syneſius* with others for Chriſtians, we have here in ſome ſort fulfilled in the Hiſto-

ry. But I muſt be ſparing in the point for feare of cenſure; Nor needs in truth a gemme ſo reſplendent and eminently apparent of it ſelfe much labour in the ſetting of; It is no more then what in effect I have obſerved to drop from the pen of one of their owne party; *Omni exceptione major*, grants he: A Prince in his own naturals or proper conſtitution beyond all exception; Only thus much then by way of Aphoriſme.

O Fortunati nimium bona ſi ſua!

Thrice happy wee of this Nation, if we rightly knew how to value herein and eſteeme our owne happineſſe; which on the by might well give checke to many of our ſeditious Pamphleters and others in their *crude indigeſted paſquils*, who notwithſtanding the Scripture its ſo frequent *Caveats* in this kinde againſt *deſpiſing Dominions, ſpeaking* evill of Dignities, nay but ill *thinking* of them, they as it were, carried aloft in the ſtrength of their unmannerly braine-ſicke zeale, make at the higheſt, as the *Jewes* once dealt by our Saviour CHRIST, forbeare not to *ſpit* in the face of Majeſty it ſelfe. Upon ſuch as theſe hath the Apoſtle Saint *Jude* pronounced that heavie doome (which I could wiſh they did ſeriouſly conſider of) allotting them as a juſt reward of their ill demeanours, *the blackneſſe of darkneſſe for ever, Jude* 13.

Fourthly, I wiſh it may be conſidered how that Hee is a *peacefull* King: Peace doubtleſſe is a great bleſſing to a Kingdome, and ſo is a peacefull King: *O pray for the*

the peace of Ierusalem, saith holy *Dauid*, and Saint *Paul*, *follow peace? Heb.* 12. *ver.* 13. Διώκετε the word implying thus much, that men shonld pursue and hasten after it, like as they do for the prize in some race or game of contention, Ἄκι γοῦτα διώκειν, in some such sense ofttimes in *Homer*. Now hath not the King been thus zealous for the peace of our *Ierusalem*; Hath not he likewise (though in vaine) thus pursued and hasted after it? Witness the many overtures or rather entreaties for peace made by him; And all this really, unfainedly; not dissemblingly, or under a vizard, as those of *Dauids* enemies, whom therfore he deservedly complained of, that *whilst they spake of peace, they had ware in their hearts*, *Psal.* 120. 7. Had others beene as forward as he, to imbrace termes of peace, to tread in that *via lactea*, wee had ere this (my conscience giues me) all closed in a peacefull end: yet no mervaile in it, for a peacefull sonne to proceede out of the loynes of a peacfull father; *His Motto* was *Pacificus*; neither doth our Soueraigne (I confidently beleeue it) desire to haue his browes encircled about with the lawrell of victory, then of peace and concord with his people.

The fifth consideration shall bee, whether these armes so taken up, bee *Offensiue*, or *Defensiue*, Defensiue (say they) and will not bee perswaded to the contrary; There is the maine Κρίσις of the businesse with them; a speciall point indeed; let us a little ex-

amine it; Civilians teach us that a *Defensiue* resistance is, when as the Defendant is no way the cause or occasion of the conflict, by some kinde of former provocation, and then afterwards in the very Act, hee doth but *propulsare iniuriam*, stands meerely upon his guard as'twere, ayming rather at his owne safetie, then the others ruine, In a word neither provokes, nor pursues his enemie. This is the nature of a trve defensiue resistance, Otherwise suppose I kill a man, to say I did it in mine owne defence, having yet provoked, pursued, and then assaulted him, would prove, I feare me, but slender kinde of Plea, even at the Barre of *Common Iustice*. The case comes neerely home to our purpose, for bee it examined on GODS name with an impartiall judgement, and let not *Actions* so apparently done in the face and eye of the world be either grosely denyed, or cunningly shifted off. Who first ministred the occasion of this unnaturall Warre, by *tumults and seditious riots*, in the open streetes? Next, who first drew sword, and gave the *onset*, as it were, thus putting fire to the fuell now prepared and laid together? Who lastly hath ever since most hotly *Pursued* and followed the businesse at first so unfortunately begune? The KING all this while almost, sueing and intreating for Peace, if so Peace might have beene obtained upon faire and honourable tearmes consistent with Majestie: what Towne or Fort at the beginning did, or at least needed to have feared His entrance: Nay, what Towne or Fort

Fort may yet juſtly feare it, if as they have unwarrantably taken up Armes, ſo in acknowledgement of their errour, they ſhall ſubmit, and peaceably lay them down—*Civilia bella—Una acies patitur gerit Altera*, All the *offenſiveneſſe* I can deſcry in the KING as touching the whole matter, is, that being at length enforced thereto, Hee would not ſuffer Himſelfe and His good ſubjects to be overborne with a tempeſt, and not make head againſt it: If this be it Hee is cenſured for, it calls to minde that Story of him, who having firſt ſmitten his neighbour with his fiſt, afterwards ſneth him, becauſe his head was hard, and hurt his hand: Paſſion, ſay Philoſophers, in any ſubject, is not without ſome manner of *Re-action* joyned to it: nor can we defend our ſelves, but it is moſt likely wee ſhall in ſome ſort or other offend the aſſaylant. But the nature (as I ſaid) of a ſimply *Defenſive reſiſtance*, is to be tryed at the teſt of the premiſed circumſtances.

Sixthly, and laſtly, it will be worth our conſideration to examine upon what *Grounds* theſe Armes bee lifted up; It is an axiome in State policie, and ever hath been, that better to connive at and ſuffer ſome inconveniences in a Church or Common-wealth, then to expoſe either to the manifold dangers of Alteration. And one of their owne outlandiſh Doctors in a Tract of his upon the like argument (though pleading for *Reſiſtance*) yet layes

layes it downe for a principle or ſure Maxime without all peradventure: I muſt confeſſe mine own ignorance, as not having *Lynceus* his eyes about me; and therefore deſire to be informed by others, whereupon this ſo urgent neceſſity of a Civill warre may be thought to have been grounded; otherwiſe I ſhall eaſily be induced to beleeve, that with him in the Hiſtory, they doe but purſue their owne *Shadowes*, or ſhoot at a marke which themſelves through the errour of their weake fancies have ſet up. Is it for matter of *Religion*, as it was maintained in the beſt and pureſt times of a Reformation. The KING hath promiſed it, Himſelfe doth practiſe it, and I heartily wiſh the beſt of His ill-affected ſubjects were but herein followers of His good Example. Is it for the *Libertie* and freedome of our perſons? The KING hath likewiſe paſſed His word upon it; Is it for a *Property* in our goods and eſtates to be enjoyed by us according to the eſtabliſhed wholeſome Lawes of the Kingdome; I muſt returne the ſame anſwer. For what then? *Davus ſum, non Oedipus*: I deſire that ſome good man or other would be pleaſed to helpe me out; where there occurres not danger of our *Religion*, nor of our *Liberties*, nor yet of our *Eſtates* to bee invaded or trenched upon (as neither can the Maſter Architects of theſe miſerable diſtractions, I ſuppoſe, though having artificially perſwaded others, fully perſwade themſelves there is) there to take up hoſtile Armes, you may, if you pleaſe, ſtile it a juſt *Reſiſtance*

ſtance, but what terme it deſerves of right, let the world judge.

Beſides then the groundleſſe *ſurmiſes*, *fears* and *jealouſies* of certaine Melancolly overworking heads as may be well imagined, ſince *prona eſt timori ſemper in pejus fides*. And thoſe too many of them, it is to be thought, like falſe fires, raiſed of purpoſe, by the induſtry of cunning projectors, only to amuze the ſimpler people; no other ground or reaſon can I find of theſe publike commotions, unleſſe what remaineth, it may be the *diſtemper'd and perverſe ambition* of ſome particular perſons; I burthen none with this heavy charge; but ſo it is in the generall, that men of diſcontented humours, or otherwiſe ambitiouſly diſpoſed had at all times rather hazard the common peace and ſafety of the whole, then faile of their propoſed private deſignes; *Publicis incendiis patriæ clareſcere*, as he ſpeaks, hath alwayes been more for encouragement then a ſtop to the proceedings of ſuch kind of ſpirits; chiefly when *need and a decayednesſe* of fortune, help to ſharpen and whet on this froward ambitious humour of theirs; And as there; ſo likewiſe is it where men have caſually *embarqued themſelves further*, into great affaires, then that they are able with ſafety to come off; There they ſtagger and faulter up and downe, as much uncertain what courſe to take, yet ſtill make onwards, and rather then periſh alone, deſperately put all into a generall confuſion: With *Sampſon* taking his laſt Revenge againſt the *Philiſtines*, they pull down the houſe, though ne-

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necessarily it fall upon their own heads, causing thus the guiltlesse ruine of a whole Nation oftimes to wait upon the Herse of their deserved overthrow.

Notwithstanding all this the King, say they, for certaine, hath formerly transgressed in the premises by declining from the manifest and known *Rules* of the Law. I will not here argue the just *Prerogative* of Kings, what they may happily challenge to themselves, either *præter* or *supra*, besides or above the law. This would be censured streight (such is the malicious wit of jealousie) as a plea made for the establishment of an *Arbitrary Government*; yet so Machiavell may teach, or his Associates perchance, but not I: Thus much only then I shall say in this matter; What ere priviledges the Prince is possessed of, whether derived unto him by custome, or as grounded upon the law it self, *favore amplianda sunt*, is an authentique saying borrowed from Canonists; They ought of right rather to be improved, then any way deminished by us; without any curb or bounds at all imposed from law to regulate them by, did Kings (we find) anciently and in those heroick purer times of the world (thence rightly termed παμβασιλεῖς, αὐτοκρατεῖς with the like) governe the people subjected to them. But and this farther: There can be no state so exactly framed and composed according to the rule of law, but that it will require some kind of a moderating dispensative power left in the hands of the supream Magistrate; Since the law is generall, nor can it therefore possibly extend to a through determination of

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all particulars: And in such a case I had rather (if I needs must) be under the power and governance of one, then of many. Easier was it for *Athens* to suffer the Arbitrary dominion of one Tyrant then as they did a while, of Thirty: and for *Rome* upon emergent occasions the *Dictatorship*, or absolute government of a single Magistrate, then that of the *Decemviri*. It is confest that where the way is plain and open, no obstructions, or difficulties to hinder, there for the Magistrate to walk κατὰ νόμον, as the Philosopher prescribeth, is the safest course; But this cannot alwayes be, I presume, in the best Common-wealth, though never so well ordered by the square and advice of the wisest Lawgiver.

And now for their objection more particularly. Grant the King hath heretofore somewhat swerved from the known *Dictates* of the Law (yet not to that height, neither will themselves say, as either of Tyranny, or grosse Idolatry, howbeit the onely just causes of *Resistance* doubtlesse, were there any just) what? find we not *David* and *Solomon*, the best and wisest of Kings to have digressed oftimes into sundry by-paths of sinne, and errour from the law of God, even to the highest pitch? Take in *Ahab*, *Manasses*, with others of the worser sort (nor yet questioned thereupon by their subjects streight) for their foule and truly insufferable misdemeanours in point of Regall government; yet were they as strictly bound by solemne covenant, both towards God and Man, entred into at their severall Inaugurations, to a performance of cer-

taine conditions, as Kings at preſent be; nor doe we generally find Gods Prieſts and Prophets then, the ordinary ſole Interpreters of his hidden pleaſure, upon any terms what ere freeing the people in the leaſt degree from that indiſſoluble tye of their duty and ſubjection to their lawfull Soveraigne, unleſſe occaſionally, by vertue of ſome particular *Expreſſe*, or other from the very mouth of the Almighty, as it happened in *Jehues* caſe riſing up againſt *Joram*, 2 *Kings* 9. or in that of *Jeroboam* doing the like by his Liege Lord, 1 *Kings* 11. which with the like extraordinary and immediate commands from God (uſuall for theſe times) our *Enthuſiaſts* themſelves will not, I hope, in modeſty offer to pretend to in their preſent undertakings.

And ſay, muſt Princes then be brought upon the ſtage, and ſubjected to the danger of being *Reſiſted* by the people, upon a ſuppoſall of every ſlip or petty errour committed by them? Princes (they may be pleaſed to know) as they are Οἰκονόμοι, or *Patres familiarum*, as was ſaid before, ſo have they a large Family to governe and ſuperviſe. Adde hereto the many intricate and perplext miſteries, thoſe *Arcana imperii*, which they have to deale with in the management of the State; ſo as they ſee not alwayes what thee do (neither can they) but by other mens eyes, nor heare they, but by the eares of others, but are forced to uſe ſubſervient help and aſſiſtance of their Miniſters. Can they ſhew me wherein the King hath knowingly and willingly broken in upon the received lawes of the Land

Land, and that without a full perſwaſion of what he did, to be juſt and warrantable; *Hic nodus vindice dignus*; for as ſo, I am confident, he may ſafely proclaime it aloud with old 1 *Sam.* 22. 3. *Whoſe Oxe have I taken, or whoſe Aſſe have I taken, or whom have I done wrong to?* And with Saint *Paul*, though in another ſenſe, *I am pure from the blood of all men*, Act. 20. 26. Errours till now of late were not wont to be accounted crimes, not in the meaneſt, much leſſe in Princes, who lye ſo high, at leaſtwiſe ſhould doe, above the levell and pitch of common cenſure.

And yet againe, hath not the King long ſince been pleaſed to deſcend, as 'twere, from his Throne of Majeſty, yeelding to a gracious revocation of whatſoever but ſuſpectedly might ſeem heretofore to have been carried in a wrong courſe? He who by vertue of his place is, and hath been alwayes ſo eſteemed of in former times, not onely νομοθέτης or νομοφύλαξ, the chief farmer and withall diſpenſer of lawes, but alſo νόμου ἔμψυχος, the very life and ſoul of the law. A point therefore which Majeſty uſeth but ſeldome to ſtoop to; Princes accounting of none as competent Judges of them and their Actions, ſave God alone; ſince it is a true ſaying, *Rex eſt qui Regem, Maxime, non habeat*, He is truly a King who acknowledgeth no commanding power upon earth above himſelfe. Againſt *Thee, Thee onely have I ſinned*; we know whoſe ſubmiſſion it was, and to whom he rendered it; Nevertheleſſe our King He hath done it, His Royall *Declarations* on the one hand, and his reall tranſacti-

ons on the other, extant in so many *Gracious Bills*, passed for the good of his Subjects, may serve as a sufficient pledge of this truth. Had but *Reboboam* done the like, notwithstanding his precedent so offensively grosse extravagances indeed, mentioned, 1 *Kings* 12. the revolted *Tribes* (as it is imagined by the best) had soon returned to their due obedience; even among *private Persons* a mans word backed with reall performances hath ever been esteemed of as a sure Testimony of his true and sincere amendments.

For all this, there be some so impudently fearfull that they dare not *Trust* His Majesty; And 'tis this *Diffidence*, amongst other things, which hath been a chief incentive to these publique disturbances; Although a vaine one, if rightly considered of: when as men shall goe about to undoe a Common-wealth, onely because they feare and weakly suspect, it may be undone.

Furor est, ne moriare mori:

There being moreover provided, as there is, a most sure and soveraigne remedy against all such danger, an effectuall [illegible], for what ere distempers casually arising or happening in the *State*, that of a *Triennial Parliamentary Convention*; But say, I beseech you, Not trust him? Not your King? so religious and just a King? Not him whom the Lord himselfe hath trusted? whom God and the Law both have entrusted with the charge of so great a people? Whence Kings they are usually stiled in Scripture, *Pastori*, *Fathers*, terms of themselves importing much trust and

affiance to be had in them. That too after such *Protestations*, such effectuall imprecations made to this purpose, and published by him? Lastly, after the many *Acts of grace*, done by him already, as sure pawns of his reall intentions for the time to come? Yet after all, not to afford your Soveraigne so much credit, as but what either *Turk*, or *Pagan* upon like termes might rightly challenge at your hands? Wonderously strange! Especially that men so credulously given in matters of highest consequence, should prove so diffident & distrustfull here! So confident Godwards, and so suspicious of his Vicegerent, strange if not an offence, happily, (besides its arguing further, some κακοήθειαν, or innate fraudulency of self-disposition) against the rule of *common Charity*, which lessoneth us to entertain a favourable conceit of all men, 1 *Cor.* 13. Nay a trespasse against the known *Lawes of Nature*, that prompts us to deale with other men, as we would be dealt with our selves, to meet out to them the same measure, we desire should be meeted back to us. The truth is, yeeld them so much power into their hands, whereby they may be enabled to command if not as Masters of the Kingdome, yet as the *Masters Mate*, keeping the scales upright in an equall poize, ready to turne at their own pleasure. In a word, able when they list, *to binde their Kings in chaines, and their Nobles with links of iron*, as the Psa. mystically deliver it. And then tis probable they wil be induced to trust him, but not till then. I may adde it as a Corollary here: *Never better Prince, upon no better grounds, so harshly and uncivilly intreated by his Subjects.*

Yet

Yet ſome moreover there be, that ſtick not to complain, that he is ſtill *miſſed*; ſo runs the phraſe: But for Gods love by whom, or how? Doe they meane ſo as each man is *drawn away and tempted*, as Saint *James* teacheth, of his own luſts and unframed deſires? His knowne moderation and temperance in all reſpects will free him, as much as may be, from this imputation; by thoſe then in private which are about him? If it be ſo, without more adoe; and that the old pernicious ſtratagem of galing and wounding the Prince through the ſides of his neerer *Attendants*, be kept up; (although this exception might now at leſtwiſe well be ſpared, a greater part of the two *Houſes* being preſent to aſſiſt him) howbeit were it ſo, as they prerend, it ſeemeth in time it may prove a criminall offence to be high his ſacred perſon; and that which hitherto hath been accounted an honour, ſhall be imputed as the greateſt aſperſion; and ſo by degrees every lovall true Subject, at what diſtance ſoever ſhall, in fine become a *delinquent*; Time was when diſloyalty or but diſaffection towards the Soveraigne was made to be *crimen crimine vacantium*, ſaith the obſervant Hiſtorian; a puniſhable fault in ſuch that wanted faults of accuſation beſides: but now we may expect and juſtly feare the contrary; it hath already thus befallen the *Miniſtry* in their kind, moſt of the conformable worthier ſort of them in all places, being thereupon, and for no other reaſon commonly, ſtrangely Metamorphzied, through a wrong interpretation, into a new ſhape, and ſo preſented to the world under the title of *Popiſh or ſcandalous*; but there-

therefore let us rather know in what? why thus, as farre as my weak apprehenſion will carry me. The King is not pleaſed to grant whatſoever is demanded of him though never ſo unreaſonable, *ergo* he is *miſled*; becauſe His Majeſty will not yeeld to an hocking and laming of His owne *Regall authority* tranſmitted unto him entire from the hand of his illuſtrious Predeceſſors: To a new moulding of the ſtate after the *Venetian platforme*: To a new building of the Church ſuitable to the *Genevian modell*. In brief to the creating of a new *Heaven and a new Earth* here amongſt us, that is a new Church and a new Common-wealth, he is miſled, he is ſeduced by wicked Counſel.

This is the ſumme and *totall* of the buſineſſe, as far as I can underſtand, or if there be more in it, I wiſh it may be made appeare, and the minds of the moderater ſort of people thereby better ſatisfied; neither yet would I be ſo underſtood in theſe laſt paſſages, as if I deſired that matters whether in Church or Common-wealth ſhould altogether ſtand as they have done, unmoved, unqueſtioned. Not ſo perchance, (albeit this be a point without the reach of my deciſion) ſince what Church or State was ever known to have long continued free from the creeping in of ſundry pernicious and deſtructive abuſes. Like as ſome Garden or other, we ſee how it becomes overgrown with weeds ſtreight, if not carefully and often looked too: Or as the body which quickly ſuperabounds with noxious humours, unleſſe now and then it be cleanſed by wholſome phiſick. But there is, I conceive, a wide difference to be found between a *re-*

forming of what is amiſſe in either, and the abſolute *transforming* the whole into a new ſhape; betwixt pruneing or lopping off the excreſcencies of ſome over luxuriant vine, and a quite digging of it up by the roots: This i, deſtructive, that uſefull, the former may well be tolerated, nay is ſometimes very requiſite. But it is this latter which ſober underſtanding men do ſo abominate, whereby not onely the *old and ſoure leavin* is to be purged forth, as Saint *Pauls* counſell is, but both batch and *leavin*, are in danger to be done away together.

And now a little to recollect in one thoſe ſhort imperfect conſiderations, which have hitherto been delivered upon this argument, ar 'twere gathering together the diſperſed handfuls, and making them up into one intire bundle. Here is you ſee a *warre* continued a cruell bloody Warre; this too againſt the *King* without queſtion; yet this King an *hæriditary*, a *good* and *peaceſull* King; with all the arms taken up and uſed in this warre, they are not as it is pretended *defenſive*, but *offenſive* plainly: Then laſtly upon what occaſion or *ground* ariſeth all this; certainly upon none as yet, that hath not at leaſtwiſe been graciouſly retracted to the full: And as for the future theres none imaginable, unleſſe the *bare ſurmiſes* and *Jealouſies* of men, as was formerly ſaid, working them into a needleſſe diſtruſt of the Kings fidelity, towards a performance of his promiſes, may be held a lawful and ſufficient ground. And tell me, what ſoul endued but with common reaſon can approve of ſuch irregular horrid pro-

proceedings, which no age, I beleeve, since the times of Christian Rule and Subjection first instituted amongst men (if taken with all circumstances of aggravation) look over the remaining Annals, peruse the choycest Records, can fully patterne or exemplifie; what heart can chuse but bleed upon a serious consideration of these groundlesse intestine broyls, broken forth within the bowels of this once flourishing Common-wealth, which (as that *Ignis sacer* with Physitians, raging in the bones) of all diseases and annoyances to a State, is the most dreadfull.

I have done with the first branch of my intended discourse, concerning the *King*; I come next to speak somewhat of the second, the *People*; the King and his people as Subjects, are Relatives, and so may well be comprized within the Lists of the same Argument; now the people may be considered either disjoyntedly and apart, or else as they make up one entire representative body in that *highest Court*: In this latter capacity or consideration I shall not say much of them: I love not walking upon precipices, Αὐπερήμως, οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς things above us deserve rather to be reverenced by us, then over boldly medled with; but yet this I may safely say, and without offence, I imagine; that the wisest *Assemblies* in this kind that may be, cannot amongst the rest of their priviledges what ere challenge to themselves a priviledge of being altogether free from errours and mistakes. It hath been so in the gravest Councels of the Church as hitherto; (*true Councels indeed*, and those truly and legally

 summoned

ſummoned together) one ſolely accepted, and that the firſt, wherein the holy Ghoſt after a more immediate manner did ſit at ſtern, moderating and directing their preſent conſultations. To pretend either here or there to an abſolute infallibility would ſavour too much of Popiſh arrogancy: Yet a blemiſh which neither the Lay nor Eccleſiaſtick part of this Kingdome wil be willing, I hope, in any conſiderable number to acknowledge themſelves much guilty of.

Againe we find in Councels how there hath ſwayed oftimes a *prevailing faction or party*: So as they deſerved not ſo much to have been termed *Concilia*, as *Conciliabula*, rather Conventicles then lawfull aſſemblies, and accordingly the reſult of their conſultations hath uſually taſted ſtrong of the prevailing ſide: Nay, we have heard of Councels or Sinods, that for a great part there ſitting, in the firſt choice or conſtitution of them, have not alwayes been, 'twas thought, ſo *impartially* aſſigned to the place, as not conſiſting of the beſt, the ableſt, and every way fitteſt for the work that might be found: Witneſſe the many examples of Councels both ancient and *modern* too, which might be called upon in atteſtation of theſe truths; I apply not the one, nor the other: But this I may perhaps inoffenſively ſay; what hath often happened to a *Councell*, may at ſome time befall a *Senate*: Thoſe of the ſhort robe are not more exempted then thoſe of the long; howbeit I wave the point, with a [illegible] there, wiſhing, though no wayes hoping, all to be well.

Yet

Yet one thing more, which I had almoſt forgotten, and it is this; what power ſoever the *repreſentative* body hath at beſt, queſtioulesſe it hath it from the body at large, the people; as the Sun-beames contracted into the narrow concave of ſome burning-glaſſe they are the ſame with the beames in open aire, though ſomewhat more vigorous and active by reaſon of this contraction; not boundleſſe or uncontrolable can ſuch a power then be, for that were more then the people have in themſelves under any capacity, as being Subjects ſtill. And *nihil dat quod non habet*, is a maxime in Philoſophy, as true, as common; ſhould the people pretend to the bequeathing of ſuch an unlimited power, as our Saviour beſpake the two Brethren ſuing for precedency of place in Heaven, *yea ask ye know not what*; the like might I ſay of them, ye preſume to give ye know not what: So then the power both inherent and derived from the people, is bounded, and ought to move regularly; not beyond the ſcope it was intended for; I gave my vote to the erecting of this power, not meaning it ſhould recoile upon my ſelf, to the ſubverſion either of my eſtate or liberty; nor yet againſt the Soveraigne power whereto it is *ſubordinate*, as being abſolutely the higheſt, if Saint *Peter* miſtake not, 1. *Pet.* 2.15. To talk of a *coordination* here of the three eſtates (as ſome have wiſely done) making the King one of them (who yet indeed is none, but properly and truly (will the learned in law ſoon tell us) head of thoſe three, *viz.* the *Lords ſpirituall*, *temporall* and *Commons* of this Land, according to the ancient uſage

and contrivance heretofore of Parliaments.) But grant it were as they would have it, to talk I say, of a *coordination* of the three eſtates in this caſe, were in effect, beſides other abſurdities following thereupon (if the reſult be throughly lookt into) to conſtitute a ſupreame without inferiours, a King for the time not having Subjects; the people all of them (as it muſt needs follow) being implicitly involved under the other two; how much better would a ſoft compliable motion doe betwixt the *three*, and forward the diſpatch of buſineſſes moſt effectually: It ſhould be like that motion in the Prophet *Ezekiels* viſion *rota in rota*, or as of the ſphærs above, which move one within another. That croſſe contrariant motion of the neather ſphærs to the firſt *moveable*, we know how it begets a flowneſſe or tardity in them of their proper and naturall proceſſion; and we ſee by wofull experience what a ſtop, if not a *retrograde* declination of civill affaires, the claſhing or banding of one power againſt the other hath wrought of late in this miſerably diſtracted Common-wealth.

But falling downe, as I was about, to a lower pin, let us next conſider the people in a diſgregative ſenſe or notion: Thoſe who hitherto upon all occaſions have ſo firmly every where (whether voluntarily or *invited* to it, I meddle not) adhered as a ſtrong ſupport to the *higher powers*, I meane not here to enter the liſts of a particular compariſon, by poyſing man with man, perſon with perſon on either ſide; but as we may find divers of good note (be it confeſſed) on that

that part, ſo are there many more, let me ſay it, on this: If *Saul hath ſlain his thouſands, David* can boaſt of his *ten thouſands*: The muſter *roll* if lookt over would better determine this Quære, then I can; wel may they conſide and reſt themſelves upon the affections of the vulgar ſort who (beſides their naturall proneneſſe towards Innovations ever) as moſt an end they underſtand but little, ſo are they eaſilieſt ſeduced, and ingaged in prepoſterous undertakeings, But for thoſe of better rank, ſuch as be either knowing, or otherwiſe of more conſiderable quality, here they muſt needs acknowledge themſelves to be upon termes of diſadvantage; Some hereupon I have heard to terme this Warre with reference to the oppoſite ſide, as that of old, *Bellum Ruſticum*, the Heliots or the Peſants warre. And queſtionleſſe it is ſome encouragement when as it chanceth thus, we excell not only in the goodneſſe of the cauſe, but likewiſe in the worthineſſe of the abettors. But paſſing by what ere other ſorts of Men in their ſeverall ranks and ſtations as they might be ſummoned up, let us in our paſſage touch at the *Divine*. Can they ſhew me any of their chiefe Scribes or Teachers (take him forth of the higheſt claſſis with them) that may be thought in point of ſound and deep knowledge an equall Match for divers but of the ſecond or third here? Yet is *Reſiſtance* (the center namely whereunto this whole diſcourſe doth bend it ſelfe) not meerly a point of State-policy, but of *Conſcience* alſo; even in the higheſt degree: and being ſo, who

ſo

ſo fit to direct the Conſcience, as is the *Divine*, and of Divines the learnedſt, the beſt able?

Next take but into conſideration the zeale, or rather the *fury* of many of their chiefe *Miniſters* or *Agents* in theſe affairs; Religion is pretended, but certainly Malice acts the buſineſſe: or if it be zeal, it is a zeale I feare *ſet on fire* by a coale from beneath. Thoſe who have felt their ſcourge can beſt judge of it, and had rather, I beleeve, fall into the hands (if they needs muſt) of ſome unbeleeving Iſmaelite, then of a too too beleeving Zelot: No ſpleen or bitterneſſe of ſpirit like that of your hot *Profeſſor*; none more cruell, becauſe he perſecutes and wrongs his neighbour, yet thinks he does God good ſervice in doing ſo; *Paul* was not more *Paul* afterwards in the wayes of truth & ſincerity, then he was *Saul* before, a fierce and eager perſecuter of the Church; Such was the bitter rage and fury of the *Circumcelliones* or preciſer ſort of *Donatiſts* heretofore, againſt their diſſenting, yet Orthodox brethren of the *African* Church, as ſundry of the Fathers make mention, not without their diſerved cenſures thereupon: Although they be not all *Saints* neither I conceive, who appeare on that behalfe. Many there are doubtleſſe, who doe but *Denis in diem aſſibus vitam eſtimare*, as the ſaying is, fight for pay and no more. And ſome I underſtand that are not of the *Proteſtant* Religion (object they backe what they pleaſe branding their Adverſaries with the approbrious Nick-name of *Popiſh*

Popish Army; and yet were it so, neverthelesse true native subjects they must needs confesse them; (is ugh to justifie both the tender and acceptance of their bounden service in a time of exigency) nor for it therefore more then others.

Fourthly, observe their manner of proceeding in furtherance of the publique cause, what by *forging, by falsifying*, & then imposing their falshoods upon the world; The presse with them of late hath been so inured to this *Cretian* Dialect; that there is question, when or whether happily it may hereafter recover its ancient guise of speaking truth: Newes of *Plots* and dangerous *Conspiracies* one while (those too most an end strained to a very ridiculous height of *Panick* affrightments) which yet as hitherto, God be thanked, neither we nor they have felt, nor had at first, it may be, much cause to feare; Newes of some *Notable victory*, or other atchieved every day. Yet as it hath proved afterwards got oftimes (if not by *Treachery*) then in a dream, without a battell. *Lying wonders*, I have often read of, but not of Lying Victories till now. Newes of *Popery and Popish Ceremonies* begun of late to be set up, and countenanced in severall places. A fiction, in truth, well befitting the Popish *Legend*, and thither I commend it; what may we thinke of these men, with their *Mountebanck-like* devices, who under a masque of pretended zeale, thus shamefully trade in falshoods (all to cheere

up their poore deluded followers, and keepe them ſtill in heart) but that even their *profeſſion* it ſelfe is but a kind of lye or grand impoſture. Nore they therefore, if they marke it well, ſo ſafely tax their adverſaries, as they doe, with thoſe haynous crimes of *ſwearing* and *prophaneſſe*, ſince *lying* and *ſwearing* are ſinnes ſurely neer allyed, and yet lying too (it may ſeem) carries a more immediate relation to *Satan* the author of all ſinne, who for this, is expreſly intitled the *Father of lyes*, *Jo.* 15. 44.

Vnto this moreover nore in the fifth place their bitter *Raylings and invectives* uſually againſt Church and State, which is another by-path they uſe to tread in, thereby labouring to ſtick an indeleble character of diſgrace upon the preſent Government in either; Ere while the *Biſhops Miter* ſhrewdly troubled them, and now the neerer intereſt and powerfulneſſe with the King of ſome our new *State Pilots*. (Not the faults of either, it may be giving ſo much offence, as the eminency of their places.) Now the *Prelates*, then the *Statiſts*. What can I ſay more or leſſe concerning this unquiet barking humour of theirs, but this, the *Lord rebuke them!* Eſpecially for ſome among them, & thoſe of the *Leviticall Tribe* too, the *Firebrands* & chiefe Incendiaries, to ſpeake truth, in theſe bloody diſturbances. Thoſe [illegible], or certain *Minor* Prophets of the times, as the great *Critick* was wont to term ſuch. Indeed the [illegible]

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the Chaffe and Out-casts of the Clergy. Those Pulpit *Barraters*, I meane, whose Religion usually is *Faction*, and *zealous Ignorance*. That have turned preaching into flat *Rayling*, and instead of dissemi-nating the word of *saving Truth* in the eares of their hearers, doe nought but *sowe sedition*; forcing them on by their powerfully delusive perswasions like silly *Sheep* as they are (almost without the help of a Metaphor) into daily slaughters, and unlesse God of his mercy shall please to intercede, certain destruction at once) (I feare) both of soul and body. If then what Philosophy hath taught us, the end may be guessed at by the *Meanes* conducent thereunto, for that the meanes and end be wontedly *Inter se commensurabilia*, as they say, and do each answer one another I know not how I may conceive or hope well of the end in this case, where I see the meanes to be so foule and altogether unwarrantable.

Last of all, let it be laid to heart the many *unspeakable Miseries*, which these unhappy differences instead of a redresse of some former sufferings, have brought upon us; Quite contrary, as it were *ex Professo*, to what we had reason to expect: The Remedy as hitherto proving much worse, then the disease was. Losse in the *Liberty of our Persons*. For as now what man can be securely safe in any place? And which is the truest Symptome (as the Orator some where tels us) of a people or Nati-

on, running further into slavery, we groane and complaine under the burthen, as sensible of it, and yet *Contend* not against it with an unanimous consent, as it were benummed in our Resolutions. Losse in the *property of our goods*. For as times are, *Jus omne in ferro est*, not the Law but the Sword is made the Master of our estates. To speak nothing of the new *Egiptian* burthens or taxes beyond all sufferance daily encreasing upon us. Losse in the *purity of our Religion*. So many brainlesse impious positions are crept in, which like that *Abomination of Desolation* spoken of by the Prophet *Daniel*, *Dan.* 9. 27. have greatly poluted the house of God. Great care of late hath there beene taken for the suppression and avoidance of *Popery*, and 'tis well; if so it end not (which yet may be feared) in making roome for the introducement of senselesse *Anabaptisme*, or utter *Libertinisme*. Losse in the beauty of our *Discipline*, or *Liturgy*; no decency of order observed now. Every mans *private spirit*, or rather fancy, will needs be a rule unto it selfe. And how far this irregularity may chance to proceed is hard to determine, since *Conscience* not ballanced with a sound judgement is commonly boundlesse, and never ceaseth till it shut up its progresse in a plaine phrensie; I remember to this effect a remarkable passage in that story of those mad *Anabaptists of Munster* in *Germany*. They began at first upon pretence of reforming somewhat amisse in *Luthers* Doctrine, about certaine few Articles

there

there. Thence they goe on to an utter abolishing of the then present *Liturgy*. That would not serve the turne, but ere long the written word must be throwne by, as too streight, and equivalent to the Spirit, and this moreover with a scoffe by crying *Bibel, Bubel, Babel*; A Scheme much like to that in the old Poet, *Titi, Tute, Tata, Tibi, &c.*

Now againe, as before, let us put the premises together; The *Infallibility*, as hath been argued of the greatest assemblies, The *Fantiality* oftimes apparent in some, the bounded and circumscribed *Limitednesse* of all, the fuller concurrence of *able Personages* on this side, the *preposterous indirect ways of proceeding* by the fomenters, and other Agents on that; the *inexpressible calamities*, which have and are like to fall upon us in lieu of an hoped for Reformation. Joyne hereto as a close of the rest, that which yet indeed fils up the *Epath* of these mischiefes full, the bringing in of a *forraigne power*: As if the fire of dissention our selves had kindled, were not speedy enough to consume a State, unlesse *Others* from abroad be solemnly invited, and drawne in, under pretence of quenching the flames, to pull downe the *House*. And the scale methinks seemes still and still to weigh downe lower: the Kings cause more cleered, and the peoples more liable to just misprision.

Thus have I in short drawne forth, as 'twere, a

true *Copy* of the businesse, as it stands *de facto* between the King & some of his people. Should I now put from shore a little, and goe on further from the *Thesis* to the *Hypothesis*, from the *History* of the matter to a probleme, as whether supposing the King were *truly misled*, and that he did notably *faile* the trust reposed in him, whether in such a case he might be lawfully *resisted*, would be a point as easily argued, and *Polemically* concluded on the Kings part, as it hath been hitherto treated of in a plaine and *positive* discourse; for at a word, take but away that grand *Phænomenon* of theirs, that Regall power is *originally* from the people, and therefore upon occasion may be reassumed by them (which yet both in the *Antecedent* and *Consequent* is utterly false.) This principle too as it is further backed with certaine generall Maxims, as *Quicquid efficit tale est majus tale*, and, *Totum est majus suis partibus*, Againe, *Salus populi suprema Lex*, with the like Axiomes, as it is evident of large extent or compasse, subject to divers and sundry *Limitations*, and accordingly as so, fitter for young Sophisters to wrangle out their disputes with, then as meet engines to overturne Monarchicall Government; Take away, I say, but these and the like *suppositions* laid downe as an unshaken foundation by them (which yet hath been a taske already sufficiently performed, by the learn'd industry of divers worthy undertakers in that kind) and the whole frame of their weak built discourses quickly falls to ground.

What

What they urge concerning the *fundamentall Lawes* of the Kingdome; what likewise touching the *usage* and customary manner of *proceeding* by generall assemblies in such like cases heretofore, both at home and abroad, trusting to these amongst the rest, as sorts of safe retirement; Breifly for the former (if so it be not a meere *Chimera* of Imagination barely) it is to be wondred at that lawes of so high concernment in the present businesse, should lye hid so long under ground, as not to be found out & produced all this while; whereas the contrary, I understand, have beene and many be still exhibited, without any such labour of paine, of disquisition; or grant such lawes might be produced and made appeare, yet surely with me the law of *man* shall evermore submit to the *law of God*; This is, or should be, I am sure, the *Touch-stone* for all lawes; where the divine law and humane chance to crosse & thwart each other, my conscience directs me the safer way; and tells me I had best keep close to the former. It is so in the *Discipline* or outward forme of *Church-government*: I appeale to themselves for a testimony; There they cry up to a title *verbum Domini*: still the *word*, the *word*. And why not so according to some proportion, at least, if occasion require it, in the rectifying of *singular and state affaires*, I see not the least shew of reason, that can be yeilded to the contrary; yet now for the word of God they have so little comfort thence, such small hopes of

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any expresse warrant for their proceedings (favouring overstrongly of *Jesuiticall principles*) to be found there, as that they scarcely meddle with it, unlesse as they be casually drawne thereto, in their *replyes* and unsatisfactory answers; Nothing to be heard of there, more then *prayers and patience* in such cases; God as then must be intreated to *incline* the heart of the Soveraigne, not the people incouraged to *inforce* him; little mention made of *Resistance*, except it be against the *Devill*, or so, but still of obedience and Christian-like subjection; For the latter, that of practise and example, it is an Authentike chafficall saying, *Exempla paucorum non sunt trahenda in Leges universorum*: we must if we do well, not suffer our selves to be governed altogether so much by *Presidents* or *Examples*, as by reason. And it is cheifely true of the examples of latter times, where they recede from the fountaine, the purity of ancienter and better ages, and so grow more suspiciously corrupt: If some before us have done amisse, we must not straight make their example the *rule* or *patterne* for us to erre by.

By *resistance* so often forementioned (to goe no further at present) I meane an *active resistance* first undertaken, and then pursued in an hostile *offensive* way: for and such a *resistance* is this, say they what they please, both deluding themselves and others. And yet such a *resistance* none of them of the later hath (as farre as I have seene yet) dare in their writings

writings offer to maintaine with open face. Just in the method of those of *Rome* (whom they so much abhorre) their *practise* here no way keepes pace with their *doctrine*: For why? neither *Scripture* nor *reason*, nor yet any *President* of the primitive or better times, they know could be brought with the least semblance to speake for them: They are for the King too (if we may beleeve them) as well as we, and meerly stand upon their owne defence; nor this neither against the King in his own person, but against some invisible *enemies* of the Common-wealth about him; so as to enter the lists of a dispute by putting the businesse to an ungranted height on the Kings side; where yet the τὸ κρινόμενον, or maine point in controversie, as things doe stand in themselves, is (though but for credits sake) denied on theirs, were (as they say) to beat the aire, or for want of other worke to seek out an Adversary. Let the premisses be duely observed, being no otherwise then according to the true condition of the present affaires, and the question if rightly propounded would be this; *whether or no, it may be lawfull to take up Compulsory or offensive arms, against a rightfull gracious Prince, professing to governe in all respects by the known established lawes of the land, onely upon terms of meer jealousie, and distrust to his Regall promises, thereby imbroyling their native country in a bloody and miserably destructive warre. Quod restat probandum.*

Besides that such *Scholastick Hypothetical Velitations* as these one way or other, howbeit they right the King in point of due obedience, yet by reason of the supposall they take in, malicious and *captious* heads may be apt to misconstrue them to somewhat a prejudiciall conceipt of him in matter of his goodnesse and integrity; whereas, God be thanked, *non defensoribus istis*, we need no such strained helps, having so *Religious*, so *Just*, so *Understanding*, so every way *Compleat* a Prince; Be this ground firmly and strongly still maintained; what need, much arguing the lawfulnesse, or unlawfulnesse of *Resistance* in some *Diocletian* his time, when as their reigneth a good and godly *Constantine*? Or of clashing and banding together in set dispute, the *Supreame Soveraigne power* residing in the *King*, (a point sufficiently evidenced by the severall, and those publike *Acts of State* extant to this purpose: As also further confirmed by the very title of *Majesty* appropriated unto him as chiefe: *this* having been in all States evermore the peculiar badge or cognizance of *Soveraigne*) wherefore it lay with that of *Parliaments*; where the Prince freely and *ex intero motu* denies them nothing, that either *Reason*, *Law*, or his own just *Rights* may give way to? A Prince whose *heart* is truly in the *hands of God* (not of *Evill Councellours*) to order and dispose of, if any Kings upon earth be; Of whom briefly it may be said perhaps

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without our better deservings, as the Apostle speaks, *Heb.* 11. of some especiall Saints and Servants of the Almighty in times past, that this *Island* of ours, or lesser *world* will prove it selfe unworthy.

Meane while the premised *considerations*, as I have committed them to paper for *mine owne satisfaction*, so shall they suffice me untill a surer and more reall ground be offered of a *disputative* enquiry. And did others, I wish, whom it may concerne, propose the like to themselves, annexing them as a *Labell* to that sacred oath of *Alleagiance* they have taken; Adde hereunto the late solemne *Protestation* made for defence of his *Royall person & dignity*, either of which how they can possibly dispence with in their proceedings so diametrally opposed (maugre their sundry senseless *Evasions*) be it between God and their own consciences? For my part I must professe, I am yet to learn; let them consider the *Sacriledge*, the *Murders*, the *Rapines* done, nay commanded, (*Justifiable Legall* offences you may now call them, as far as an humane *Ordinance* will carry) in these wild licentious times of Anarchy. Strange beginnings of an intended *Reformation*, one would think, I have read of Religion in the Primitive times planted, yea propogated in blood, under *Pagans* and *Infidels*. But for *Christians*, amongst themselves, professing one and the same faith, to advance the supposed purity of

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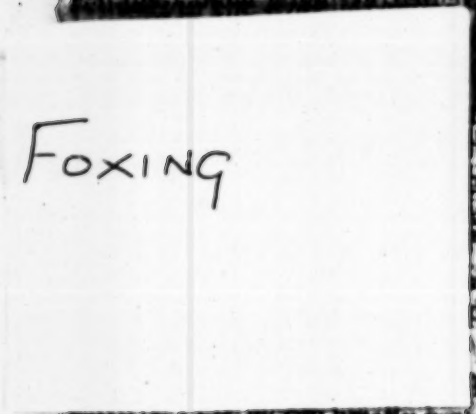

FOXING

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Gods worship by such harsh meanes, I have *not so frequently* heard of, untill these latter and frantick dayes of ours; It is the fruit of a Doctrine well becomming the *Turkish Alcoron*, and *there* accordingly oftimes inculcated, but no where surely to be found in the *Gospell* of Christ, not taught by his Apostles, nor afterwards abetted by any of the Orthodox Fathers; Προσευχὴ καὶ κήρυγμα, *Prayer* and *Preaching* were the appointed weapons of their warfare; notwithstanding more outrages, I dare say, more heynous and crying sins in all kinds unpunishably committed under this pretext chiefly these *last two yeers*, then have been acted formerly, (set them together) within the circuit of this our English clime, since the first establishment of the *Protestant Religion* here amongst us; As if with us now indeed were the time when *Satan* that great Master of misrule and of all impiety were let *loose* into the world, according to St *John* that his Apocalyptical prediction, *Rev.* 20. 7. Consider they, I say, and that seriously, least as our Saviour speaks concerning the *Jewes*, *Mat.* 23. 34. burdening them withall the *righteous blood* which was shed upon earth, *from the blood of Abel, unto the blood of Zechariah*; So (in as much as between two parties disagreeing, the one must needs be faulty) all the crimes fore-mentioned may come upon them likewise, and be added to the score of their offences. And yet if one small transgression, in any of the premisses

premisses be, as it is, enough to sink the guilty; what will an huge heap doe? If *Cains* owne sinne alone was *heavier* then he could beare, what may we thinke of the numerous sinnes of a whole *Nation*?

These or the like considerations then, if throughly and impartially weighed, might be of great force in rectifying the *precipitate disloyall* inclinations of a still *misguided* sort of people; certainly it hath beene want of a serious animadversion on this behalfe, which hath hitherto blindly led them on: A strong though groundlesse conceit with many of the *justice*, nay *necessarinesse* of the cause, swaying them aside from the course of their bounden duty: As if their *Religion*, their *Lawes* and *Liberties*, lay all at stake, (true for certaine, if it is to be feared the *Contrary* side) which yet as here, God knowes is nothing so: When *Absolon* rose up in Armes against his Lord and Father *David*, 2 *Sam.* 15. no question but the *Heads* of the then devised conspiracy made good use (the text insinuates as much) of some such specious pretences, wherewith to cozen the weake and ignorant people; so, for that causelesse insurrection of *Corah* with his complices against *Moses* and *Aaron* together, *Num.* 16. thereby at once discovering their rancorous disaffection towards the established government both in *Church* and *State*; *Ye take too much upon you*,

cry, these discourented *Reformers*; yee entrench now close upon our pretended *Priviledges*, our *Liberties*, our *Consciences*; Never any Rebellion wanted a cloake or cover of this kind of making. And therefore men should have done well, carefully to have pondered aforehand, by debating over and againe, a businesse of so high consequence (as that whereon depends the hazard of eternall *Damnation*, *Rom*. 13. 2.) before they had rashly ingaged themselves in a blinde and obstinate defence of the same; Or if it hath been duly perpended, as it ought, yet without effect: Then naught to be said but this, *Quis furor O Cives*, God, I fear, as his usual all way of proceeding is in such like cases, hath strangely *besotted* and *infatuated* the understandings of this sinfull Nation, meaning to scourge us still after a most severe manner, with the rodde of our own fury; like as it befell the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, in fight against the *Israelites*, who helped thus to *destroy one another*, as we find it recorded, 2 *Chron*. 20. 23.

Exemplo, pari ruit Anglica turba, suoq;
Marte cadent cæp per mutua vulnera fratres.

I conclude the whole with that sage advice of the *wisest* of men next to Christ himselfe, *Prov*. 24. 21. worthy of a deliberate poising by all, but especially those of the *disaffected party*, *Feare God and*

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the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change; for their calamity ſhall riſe ſuddenly, and who knoweth the ruine of them both? where it is to be obſerved, how you have *God* and the *King* ſet a breſt as 'twere, the *obedience* we owe to the King joyned with that *Duty* which we owe unto God: & ſutably a neglect of our performance in the one, threatned with certaine deſtruction alike, as in the other. And the reaſon for both holds paralell ſtill, becauſe as by the former we offend God in his owne *perſon*, ſo by the latter we injure him in the *Perſon* of his *ſubſtitute* or immediate Vicegerent here appointed over us.

FINIS.

Gildas de excidio Britanniæ.

Moris continui gentis erat, ſicut & nunc eſt, ut infirma eſſet ad retundenda hoſtium tela, & fortis ad civilia bella: Infirma, inquam, ad exequenda pacis ac veritatis inſignia, & fortis ad Scelera & mendacia.

FINIS.

Gildas de excidio Britanniæ.

3

MERCVRIVS AVLICVS,

Communicating the Intelligence and affaires of the Court, to the reſt of the KINGDOME.

The tenth Weeke, ending March 9. 1643.

SUNDAY. *March* 3.

THe laſt week you heard the Rebels contrivance to make themſelves *States*, which already takes ſo well, that on Thurſday laſt (*Feb.* 29) their Committee brought up certaine Inſtructions for Maſter *Strickland* in Holland, to beget a faire report of the proceedings in England, *that here they onely ſtrive for Reformation of the Religion and State they live in: that therfore the States would now afford them their brotherly aſſiſtance, as they have formerly aſſiſted them; that they would inlarge their union to other Princes, and lend them ſome money upon Publique faith of both Kingdoms, and the rather becauſe they make Reformed Churches the pattern of their endeavours.* But as the *States Generall* have hitherto diſcountenanced this groundleſſe Rebellion, ſo They'll find theſe Rebels as ready and eager to quarrell with Them, as with their owne Soveraigne, unleſſe they are more righteous then the *Lords Prayer* or *Creede*, and like well to be betrayed, libelled, and murthered.

For they ſcorne any friendſhip that ſerves not their Ambi-

tion, as appeares by their carriage to their owne *Lords*, who have hitherto beene as properties to set out the worke, but are now prepared to be laid aside. For on Friday last, when Sir *Peter Wentworth* made a report of his Message to their Lords about the Oath of secrecie, the Grandees of the faction in the pretended Lower House grew full of wrath, and in a great pet, Ordered some Reasons should instantly be drawne up to satisfie their *Lords*, and if upon them those Lords did not assent to their Oath of Secrecy, then (said a Member) *we are able to stand upon our owne leggs, and can easily put out a Declaration to the people, what reason we have to protest against the Lords*, which old Sir *Harry's* man sayes ere long will come to passe.

MONDAY. *March* 4.

Now this plot must goe on, though it breake their owne Rules, (the very Priviledges of voting) as appeares in the case of the Two Sir *John Evelins* on Saturday last: at which time it was moved that they Two might be discharged from Prison, and the pretended House dividing, 71 were for them, and 65 against them, which later being the lesse number, would have divers called out of the Committee-Chamber (which heard neither the debate nor vote) and would have had these entered; which the 71 opposing, the debate about this Priviledge spent above 4 houres, and at last the 65 would not suffer the tame Speaker to pronounce the Order. Let all the world see what they are at *Westminster*, where their *Commons* will not grant their *Lords* to have a negative voyce, and 65 is more then 71, which even *Michael Oldsworth* (at his Friday supper) said, *was not to be endured*. The *English* of it is this, that 25 (prime chosen Rebels out of *England* and *Scotland* to make a *Counsell of State*) when their Patent is once sealed, will prove themselves to be more then all the residue of the whole Remnant it selfe.

And till this *Counsell of State* be heaved up to its seat and dominion, the faction keepe many tame *Members* in pension, who

who are paid either with Mony, Offices, Land, or Plunder: thus Mr *Francis Rous* is voted Provoſt of *Eaton*, who ſure hath deſerved better, for turning *Davids* Pſalmes into Meter (almoſt halfe as well as *Hopkins* and *Wiſdome*) Thus Maſter *Bulſtrode Whitlocke* hath gotten new lodgings in the *Middle Temple*, which though they belong to Sir *Richard Lane* Lord Cheife Baron of the Exchequer, yet Maſter *Bulſtrode* is voted into poſſeſſion, and hopes to have his place alſo, if the *Worceſter* Sergeant with great ruffe and little head will forſake his hopes. And thus alſo (to name no more) the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrigh* hath 2000^l^ *per annum* given out of the ſequeſtred lands of Sir *Thomas Fanſhow*, Maſter *Fanſhow*, & Sir *Marmaduke Rawdon*, which when the *Hertfordſhire Committee* certified to their Memberſhips on Monday laſt, they ordered his Lordſhip ſhould pay 500^l^ *per annum* to the State (or *States*) and take the reſt himſelfe: but the miſchiefe is, that when honeſt dayes return, it wil be impoſſible to have 2000^l^ *per annum* out of his Lordſhips revennues. Thus many ſeverall *Members* captivate their voices, ſome to ſave charges becauſe they are rich, others becauſe they are poore and would be rich.

Tuesday. *March* 5.

And this hope of being Maſters of other mens eſtates, makes their armed Rebels ſo active & diligent, a party whereof came this weeke from *Warwick* commanded by *Bridges* and *Hawksford*, the two Governours of the Caſtle and Town of *Warwick*. Theſe two Rebells with 120 horſe fell in upon *Adderbury* (4 miles from *Banbury*) before 4 of the clocke on Sunday morning, at which time Major *Jackſon* (according to his uſuall courſe every morning) was drawing the Regiment together, but theſe Rebels were upon them before they were in order, and ſurprized Sir *Arnold de Liſle* (Lieutenant Colonell of that Regiment,) Major *Jackſon*, and 12 Troopers with 21 Horſe. The Alarme whereof was given to Sir *William Compton* (brother to the noble Earle of Northampton) at *Banbury*, by that expert Captaine *Triſt* (of Prince Charles his Regiment) who ral-

lied 37 of the Regiment and persued: Sir *William Compton* issuing out of *Banbury* with neare 80 horse more: But though the Rebells had conveyed away the prisoners and horses with a partee before, Sir *William Compton* overtooke about 80 of them going downe Edghill, and in *Radway* field, charged them 3 times, killed 12, tooke some prisoners, whereof one was their Scout-master (one *Hericke*, an active mischievous pillager) together with 30 Horses, forcing them into *Chadshunt* Church within 5 miles of *Warwicke*, where he would have fired them out, but that a greater partee of horse (upon notice therof) came suddenly from *Warwicke*, which occasioned him to retreate with his 30 horse & prisoners, without any other hurt or losse, then 3 of his men sleightly wounded. The Rebells durst not have adventured so neere *Banbury*, but that the Earle of *Northampton* was then at *Stanway* in *Glouceſterſhire*, with his Regiment of horse wayting for the Rebells Convoy from *Warwicke* to *Glouceſter*.

But they have another *Scout-maſter*, (a Knight that can scarce disguise himselfe) who prospered better yesterday at *Hilsdon*, to which place he came with *Cromwell*, *Pickering*, and some other new Colonels, with at least 1800 Rebels, they girt the house round, and stormed it in severall places at once, whereby they broke in, the Garrison being not halfe sufficient to man their workes, nor the workes themselves finished, and tooke Sir *Alexander Denton* the Master of the house, Colonell *Smith*, and sixescore common-Souldiers, whereof (as their owne Pamphlets tell us) they put 60 to the sword; They killed none but upon cold blood, after they were Masters of the House, and then the execution extended not onely to the Garrison, but to such as were no part of it. There was an old fellow (82 yeares old) who had many yeeres served as a Property to the Kitchin, who seeing them despitefully haling his Master Sir *Alexander Denton* through the Kitchin, could not containe, but (forgetfull both of his age and danger) flew at one of them with his Cleaver, and had immediately his braines beaten out by the Rebels; The very children had their Clothes torne from their backs, and the Gentlewomen were (not by the Common

Souldiers

Souldiers, from whom we might expect rudeneſſe, but) by Captaine *Taylor* and other Captaines, ſtript almoſt naked, their attire pulled from their heads, necks, ſhoulders, to the very Gloves, their heads beaten and cut with Muskets, themſelves dragg'd about the Houſe, and then made to march up to the knees in dirt, the Souldiers reviling them as they went along, calling them *Bloudy Ammunition Whores*; Sir *Samuel Luke* (who abhors any thing that's comely) ſaying in a jeere, *Gentlewomen, 'twas long of your ſelves.* From thence by the favour of their Kindred (for ſuch were ſome of the chiefe of theſe Rebels) they were allowed a Cart of *Cleydon*, but were faine to borrow the Carters old patcht Cotes for Hoods and Scarfes, the Rebels having robb'd them of all their owne. The men-priſoners many of them naked, and put the miſerable ſhift of an handfull of ſtraw to cover their nakedneſſe, others allowed onely Breeches, none Shooes, were driven bare-foot to *Padbury* Church, and there was Sir *Alexander* alſo ſtript; and a poore man, pitying the cold lodging hee was like to finde there, for lending him but an old coat and a bottle of ſtraw to lye on, was called *Cavaliering Rogue*, and promiſed a plundering the next day. The Miniſter of the Pariſh Maſter *Okely*, who was onely guilty of being taken in the Towne, where it was his duty to reſide, was cut on the head with a Musket, and though a ſicke and infirme man, forced to accompany the reſt bare-foot to *Padbury*, the Rebells making jeaſts upon his infirmities, and ſaying, *Becauſe he was leane they pull'd off his ſhooes, and meant to turne him a'grazing.* Sir *Alexander* was kept at *Padbury* on purpoſe, till his Houſe, Farmes, and Ricks were all utterly burnt downe, that he might be within the ſight of his owne undoing; To which purpoſe Miſtris *Iſham* alſo was again brought from *Cleyden* (under a colour of beſtowing ſome of the Goods upon her.) But the buſineſſe was no other, but to force her to ſtand the beholder of ſo ſad a ſpectacle: This Miſtris *Iſham* is Sir *Alexanders* ſiſter, and (ever ſince his Ladies death) his houſe-keeper, who (upon his carrying away) finding her ſelfe left as it were the onely Parent of 8 or 9 ſmall children, writ a patheticall Petition in

their

their behalfe to Colonell *Aillot*, that he would be pleased to leave them but the Milch Kine for their sustenance, and any old piece of the house standing, that they might have to lay their heads in. The Colonell not being in the way his Major undertooke the Answer, who said, *Surely the woman was asleepe when she writ it, or else how could she dreame of any mercy from them? for neither she nor any of this brood should have to doe with any thing there.*

WEDNESDAY. *March 6.*

But all this is nothing, for those who are confident they shall never be questioned, their brethren Scots will ratify all, For the Scots are so devout to perfect this worke, that they also have made an *Ordinance* for raising monies by an *Excise* in *Scotland*, which is to passe upon *Ale, Beere, Bread, Wine, Strong-waters, Tobacco, Oxen, Sheepe, Calves, Swine and Goats*, (whether they have foure leges or but two) *Kine, Lambs, Kids*, (whether they be bought or stollen) As also on all *Merchants* ware (whether they sell them at home, or carry them abroad in their shops,) as all *Linnen, Cambricke, Holland, Lawne*, (especially in sleeves) all *Gold and Silver lace, Sattin, Plush, Silke stockings*, (whether he be Burgar, Laird, or foot Gentleman) all *Furres, Hatts, Beavers*, (whether they be blacke or blue, with brims or without) all *Flax, Silke, Thread, Cordage*, (either with a *Psalme* or without) *for payment of the Army, now marched into* England, *& satisfying all debts upon Publique Faith*, which *faith* was never broken by any *Scot* in Christendome, no not in an Act of Pacification.

Nay (to let us see the Master may learne of the Schollar) these *Brethren* in *Scotland* have also made an *Ordinance* for putting themselves into a second posture of Defence; which tells us, that *the Estates now presently convened, considering the Desolations of the Kingdome of* Ireland, *and the blondshed in* England, (which never was throughly stopped since it first bled at *Newburne*) *and the dangers of the Kirk and Kingdome of* Scotland *doe increase, by having Armes and Ammunition taken thence for the Army now in* England, *whereby the Country is neither well able*

able to compeyse inteſtine frayes, nor protect it ſelfe from foraigne invaders, therefore the ſaid Eſtates doe and have ſtatuted and ordained that all Colonels and Committees of Warre ſhall muſter all ſenſible perſons within their ſeverall Presbyteries, and ſhall alſo ſearch all Houſes and Cotes for armes, (and for ſilver if they can find any) *and diſtribute the ſaid armes to thoſe that want, according as the Committee of Warre ſhall be directed by the* COMMITTEE OF ESTATES, which is the firſt draught of the *Councell of State*, which is now erecting by the faction at *Weſtminſter*.

THURSDAY. *March* 7.

You ſee our brethren intend to goe on, to be either Kings or *Scots*, reſolving never more to hearken to *Peace*, till we become their Servants; wherein they at *London* would gladly gratifie them, and therefore now doe make them their Oracle in all their Conſultations; nay, we are advertiſed, that the Trumpeter ſent to *London* cannot returne till the *Scots* have ſhaped him an Anſwer: ſo that now we are come to that happy Reformation which their firſt and laſt covenant do plainly drive at, to let them foole us firſt out of our money, next out of our obedience, and now out of our Country; ſo as 4. Rebell-*Scots* ſhall ſit in *Worceſter* Houſe, and tell His Sacred Majeſtie 'twill be His ſafeſt courſe to come up to *London* and take the covenant, for they are almoſt ſwolne up to that inſolence, while the worthy Patriots ſit meditating thanks for thoſe that come into England for *Root* and *Branch* of all we have.

Now if you would know when we ſhall have hopes of an Accommodation, *Stephen Marſhall* will tell you; who being in private conference with *Obadiah Sedgwicke*, and one *Alliſton* (a ſufficient Brother in the Sequeſtrations) was asked by *Alliſton*, Whether it were poſſible to end this Warre by a Treaty; *No* (ſaid *Stephen*) *we will never Treat unleſſe we may have all granted which we formerly demanded; Nay, if the King would grant that now, wee ſhould not agree, for if the King had put down Biſhops and Cathedrals at firſt, we would have given*

Him

Him all their Lands; but should he do it now, we would not give Him any of their Revenues; for we must have both Church-land, and Delinquents estates also, and all little enough to pay the Parliaments debts, and recompense those who have suffered for us, and reward such as have laboured in our Cause. Then *Alliston* asked him which way he conceived the Kings *debts* might be satisfied; *What's that to us* (said *Stephen*) *the King must not have a penny of this; for should we grant him these to pay His friends, those friends would helpe Him againe when He pleases to make warre upon us; and should we leave our frinds unrewarded, they would never assist us hereafter when we have most need of them.* Let any man judge if *Stephen Marshall* be not (as *Case* lately stilled him) *A Great Teacher in Israel.*

FRIDAY. *March* 8.

The Rebels thus scorning to heare of *Peace*, must be made weary of *War*; which with Gods blessing Prince RUPERT will teach them, who (to the rest of his Victories) hath this week also made them sensible of their Cause. For on Monday night last, his Highnesse marched with about 800 Horse, and 600 Foot towards *Draighton*, 14 miles from *Shrewsbury*, where the Lord *Denbighs* Regiment of Horse, Colonell *Mittons* Horse, Sir *Thomas* and Sir *William Fairfax* Horse were all quartered, Sir *William* being in person there, but the Rebels had notice of the designe before the Prince came thither, (which was by eight of clocke on Tuesday morning) where hee found the Rebels drawne out in expectation of His comming, and confident to deale with Him, advanced with a partee of their Horse through *Draighton* Towne to meet Him, but were quickly beaten backe, their Commander in chiefe was there taken Prison, with many others; then his *Highnesse* himselfe charged through the Towne, where the Rebels were drawne up into a body, and this he did with two Troopes onely (most of his Horse being with the Foot two miles behind) but as soone as they saw the rest of His Horse appeare, they all ranne shamefully; the Prince pursuing them onely

onely with his owne Troope at leaſt 5 miles neare to *Eccleſhall* Caſtle: in this purſuit (beſides what he had taken before) His Highneſſe tooke above 40 Priſoners, whereof one Captaine, and one Lieutenant, tooke alſo Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his Majors Colours, whoſe *Motto* forſooth was, FOR REFORMATION; killed 22, tooke 100 horſe, and lay all night in the Towne of *Draighton*, where the Rebels durſt never viſit His Highneſſe, who came back to *Shrewſbury* the next day, having killed and taken above 120 Rebels, without the loſſe of any one man. The Rebels had (beſides *Wem*) two other ſmal Garriſons in this County, both which His Highneſſe cleared within two or three daies after his comming to *Shrewſbury*, *Wem* her ſelfe being cooped up, that expert Commander Serjeant Major *Legg* having often faced thoſe Rebels at their owne ports (durſt they peep out) from whoſe Quarters the Major brought away 30 loads of Hay, the Rebels very meekly beholding their Carts, without ſending out a man to reſcue them.

Yet thoſe at *Windſor* pretended to more courage, and therefore came in no ſmall body to *Twiford* on Tueſday laſt, to look towards *Reading*, but the brave Governour Sir *Iacob Aſtley* brought downe a peece of Canon, which though ſhot but twice amongſt them, they were no more ſeene. Therefore yeſterday Sir *Iacob* tooke a good ſtrength of Horſe with him, and marched to *Agmondeſham*, a moſt factious Towne in *Buckinghamſhire* (16 miles from *Reading*) where he heard a young Colonell of that County lay enquartered with 140 Dragoons, who upon Sir *Iacobs* comming thither left the Towne, which was well examined by the *Reading* Horſe. In the Towne dwels one Doctor *Crooke* that had given divers of the Inhabitants the Scots League and Oath (concerning which Oath there is this day come forth a materiall ſhort diſcourſe, called the *Iniquity of the ſolemne League or Covenant*, ſufficient to ſatisfy any one that makes conſcience of perjury) This Doctor *Crook* eſcaped into a wood, leaving his dinner, and *Shrove-Tueſday* banquet ready diſh't on the table.

SATURDAY. *March.* 9.

In the meane while Sir *William Waller* is making friends a-

mong the Citizens, that the two Citie Regiments may continue with him still, else his small Forces will become none at all; which the *Members* conceive most fitting, and therefore voted Master *William Lenthall* should write a Letter (since he writes his mind handsomely, though hee hath an impediment in his speech) to worke the Citizens to it; whence the *Londoners* must learne, that if they are once enticed out of the Line of Communication, they must never returne till they are worne to a pittance, and 2000 be shrunke into 300.

And these Sir *William* keepes for his Westerne voyage, and hath therefore sent downe his Deputy, Colonell *Ware*, to raise their friends in *Dorcetshire* against his comming, who accordingly sent out his Tickets and got a pretty number with Officers and men from *Lyme*, who were all so entertained by the Lord *Paulet*, Sir *John Berkely*, Sir *Richard Chulmely*, Colonell *Bluet*, and others, that 200 prisoners, 10 Commanders, 80 brave Horse, with great store of Armes, are all carried prisoners to *Exeter*, which the Lord *Paulet*, and those other noble Gentlemen tooke at *Hemiock*, where they first tooke the Towne, and afterwards forced the Rebels into the Castle, who kept it all night, but in the morning delivered themselves prisoners, with all their Armes, Ammunition, and Baggage.

But the Londoners expect all good from the *North*, and (as we heare) have made a late *Thanksgiving fire*, for joy their *Brethren* are come over the water of *Tyne*; which is so slenderly reported, that young Sir *Henry Vane* moved 500l. a month might be allowed for Intelligence from the *Scottish* Army, because they heard nothing thence for above these 20 daies.

Now though they at *London* have no Intelligence from their Brethren, yet their servants in print must not want newes, and therefore they tell us, 1. *That there was a strong report that the* Scots *greatest Canon played against* Newcastle *for two daies together*, (was it your report, or report of the Ordnance? the one begat the other.) 2. *That the* Scots *great Ordnance is not yet come to them, but will certainly be with them within these three daies*, (then the Ordnance played against *Newcastle* three daies before it came thither.) 3. *That the Lord* Fairfax *within this moneth hath killed and tooke Prisoner above* 1500, *and*

abo:

above as many more come in unto him, besides 300 which he killed and tooke lately, (nay, 1500. and 1500. and 300. is but 3300. sure you doe him wrong, they were more or lesse.) 4. *That the Lord* Goring *hath sent over Letters for more money, & then he will send a great Army to* Oxford *though we hope he intends never more to see* England, (you must not forge Letters thrice in one mans name, you have done it twice already) 5. *That the* Hollanders *have made an Act that they will rather beg their bread, then sell Armes to the Malignants at* Oxford, *which is done through the wisedome of those worthy States,* (your *Worthy Members* cannot be made *States* by slandering the *Hollanders.*) 6. *That Sir* Thomas Fairfax *enlarges his Quarters about* Namtwich, *and draws daily nearer to* Chester. 7. Another saies, *That Sir* Thomas Fairfax *is in the West-riding of* Yorkeshire. 8. And a third saies, *That Sir* Thomas Fairfax *is besiedging the Countesse of* Derby *at* Lathom *in* Lancashire, *and hath left* Cheshire *to Sir* William Brereton, (these Three agree like three of Sir *William Brereton's* teeth.) 9. *That the Earle of* Dorset, *the Earle of* Southampton, *and Sir* John Culpepper, *are comming up to* London *with Propositions for a Treaty, but with no other intention then when they came from* Nottingham, (for shame say nothing of that Message from *Nottingham*, Ten thousand Orphans curse you for refusing it.) 10. *That the Marquesse of* Argyle *hath taken* Durhum *Castle*, (I'le observe how often you repeat this *Lye*, you are going on your third time.) 11. *That divers Gentlemen in the Lord* Hoptons *Army are preparing to come in to enjoy the benefit of the Parliamẽts Declaration*, (you have not rewarded the *Knight* that told you so, his picture is cut but in a wooden print.) 12. *That the moderate part are the major part of the Anti-Parliament at* Oxford, *and have voted* Westminster *to be a true and perfect Parliament*, (Pay your Intelligencers better, they abuse you horribly.) 13. *That Sir* William Constable *is a man so successefull in his Arms, as if indeed he had taken Victory prisoner* (Because *Victory* would not pay her *Twentieth part.*) 14. *That a ship having transported prisoners for the English and Scots in* Vlster, *in her return met with five ships of* Falmouth, *brat them*

all,

all, and forced them to leave off. (Keepe your lyes on those else you see they'll grow intollerable.) 15. *That another ship bound for New England, did very strange & admirable service upon three Dartmouth ships,* (That other ship is called the *New Assembly.*) 16. *That the County of* Hertford *hath petitioned the House for some allowance for billeting of Souldiers, which they have undergone with much willingnesse,* (Yes they petitioned with much willingneſſe.) 17. *That* Nottingham *was like to have been surprized, but a Country fellow that gave intelligence saved the Towne as the Geese did the Capitoll* (Whether was it a *tame* goose, or a *Sergeant* goose?) 18. *That many Knights and Gentlemen have come in, to embrace the Declaration, whose names should be mentioned, but that a list is daily expected* (Till the first of March come twelve-month.) 19. *That sir* Richard Greenvill *ran away from the Parliament as soone as he got a sufficient quantity of money,* (O freind you speake too late.) 20. *That the valiant Knight* Sir Samuel Luke *and Colonel* Cromwel *slew* 40. *of the Cavalliers in* Hilsdon *House* (Tis true, they did it valiantly for 'twas in cold blood.) 21. *That there was a sharpe skirmish betwixt Colonel* Syddenham, *and the Lord* Inchequins *Irish at a bridg near* Wareham, *where the Irish fought most desperately,* I'le allow thee 30. *lyes* for this one ingenious confession:) 22. *That Colonel* Cromwel *advanced towards* Oxford, *faced the Towne, and tooke* 60 *horse, & gave them an Alarme to the purpose,* This is a *Lye* to the purpose.) 23. *That* Sir William Balfoure *hath blocked up* Reading *above this weeke* (for Sir *Jacob Astely* went but 16. miles into *Buckingham-shire,* and scoured all the Countrey with Sir *William Balfours* consent.) 24. *That the ship in which the Marquesse of* New-castles *plate was put, was sunke lately in the Channell,* (why would you let it sinke, you said last weeke you took it.) 25. That as yet there is no certain news of the *Scots,* (*The good Intelligence is not yet agreed on.*) 26. That therefore there is no certaine newes because it is an establisht Maxime, That we are given by nature to flatter most that side to which we are most addicted, for contradiction is a fanne to inflame that love 'Tis Sir *John Wray* in his Ninth Speech, which he sayes is none of his Eight.

FINIS.

Numb. 28. 4

Mercurius Britanicus:

Communicating the affaires of great BRITAINE:

For the better Information of the People.

From *Monday* the 18. of *March* to *Monday* the 25. of *March*. 1644.

Let all take notice, that the Papers which were set up last Week against the Exchange, *and other parts of the City, by* Rob. White, *to disgrace* Mercurius Britanicus, *Printed by* G. Bishop, *were on purpose out of malice to the said* Bishop, *when as the* Britanicus, *with his Name to it, is as true, and shall be as Satisfactory to the Readers, as his is, or can bee.*

Britanicus his just defence.

THe language which comes from *Oxford* this weeke is as dull as *Rime-doggrell*: There is so much *Holy Water*, so much *Aqua fortis* of poperie in the *Inke*, that it devoures all loyalty and honesty at the very first touch of the paper, and leaves a tincture of venome behind to poyson the Readers. The lines are so *be-Digbied* and *be-dawbed*, one while with glozing insinuations, another while with such monstrous fetches! *You have forgotten to call them Rebels in the first line*, saies *Hally-boy* the *Court-vermine*, I meane *Jermyn*: He that started up lately to be a *Jack* of the ballance to the *She Cabinet-Councell*, and weighs out Prerogative and Poperie in equall portions, to be imployed for the use of the *Junto*. *I have brought a few notes here from my father*, sayes *George* of *Madrid*, He that breathed his first neere the *Spanish* Court, and is resolved to breath his last in the behalfe of it: *The Presse shall not goe till they are inserted: for it is the maine piece of all, and I thinke it*

The manner of composing *Aulicus*.

 will

Will pay the Councell of State. All will be ſpoyled, if we let them paſſe a week Scot freee. Then in comes a Deputy from *Duppa*, and tells them *that my Lord Biſhop, the Reverend father in God, &c.* will have nothing againſt the *Aſſembly of Divines* this weeke, becauſe he and his brethren have had a hard taske of it in railing againſt them ever ſince their firſt meeting, and therefore deſireth to be excuſed for once, becauſe they could not write a pamphlet againſt the *Covenant*, and take paines to traduce the *Aſſembly* too, all in one weeke: A very faire excuſe! So that the whole burthen this time lay upon poore *George* and *Harry* for the whole sheet, and *Berkenhead* had an honourable reference for the managing of the *Wormatich* remnant at the cloſe before *Finis*.

Berkenheads Taſk.

Now what ſay you *George-Harry Anlicus*, or *Aulicus Harry-George*? What, *Rebells* at the firſt word, I warrant you? yes, that word ſhall in, or elſe they will make his Majeſtie weary on't. He ſhall be awed, tawed, and clawed elſe.

His Majeſtie.

Anlicus tells us *of a contrivance to make States here.* There is nothing here, Reader, but honourable contrivance to make a *State* which was almoſt marr'd; which way to firme it, and forme it, and conforme it, and heale the breaches, which were made by the vaſt inundation of the fluent rivulets of Monopolies, preſſures and grievances, which had ſo free a courſe from the boundleſſe Ocean of Prerogative: This is a gallant contrivance, and which will ſpeake the contrivers renowned in the next Chronicle. I could tell you of ſtrange contrivances formerly, how they found out a way to extract gold from the very dunghill, nay from Smoke, Ragges, or any thing: Theſe were rare *State-Alchymiſts*, and we had need have a volume written of the Science, leſt it ſhould chance to be forgotten. There are many contrivances now too; A *Miſcelane* of Engliſh, Iriſh, French, Romiſh, and Spaniſh contrivances, plots, and conſpiracies: And ſuch is the glorious Integrity of the Parliament, that they even ſpend themſelves in contriving the ſureſt and ſafeſt wayes to prevent them.

The Honour of the Parliament.

VVhich *Aulicus* and his partie perceiving to be ſo excellently contrived in erecting the moſt Honourable *Councell of State*: Therefore he will let no occaſion ſlip to quip them, but ſpends and laſhes out the *firſt fruits* of his invention alwayes againſt them. He tells us of *certain Inſtructions to be ſent to* Mr. Strickland *Agent for the Parliament in* Holland, *to beget a faire report of the proceedings in* England. Mr. *Strickland* can tell, that there needs not any begetting a faire report of our proceedings there, as long as yours are ſo foule at *Oxford*. They can remember

member (though now they be *free States*) very well what belongs to *Spaniſh* and Popiſh tyrannie: And if that *Cottington* come to play *Duke D' Alva* in *England*, he will make ſhift to ſet up another again in *Holland*: If this cannot work upon them, let them call to mind the bloody dinner provided for the greateſt part of their Nobles, when their heads were taken off the day after; and try how they can digeſt that with an *Orange*: He may remember too, if he pleaſe, that his father ſhould have been one of them, if all birds would have been drawn to the ſnare alike: And all this was done upon a fair invitation, a *Spaniſh* Complement. I hope then he will take heed of Spaniſh Invitations and Complements from *Oxford*, though they come in an Engliſh diſguiſe; yet when the reality of them ſhall be brought into action (which God forbid) *Holland* may ſuffer as well as *England* in the *Cataſtrophe*. If Mr. *Stricklands* Rhetorick ſhould faile, yet methinks this conſidered ſhould beget ſomwhat amongſt them: The late *Mounſier*, which was Embaſſador here, hath given ſo good intelligence of *Oxford* proceedings in *France*, that they abhor them, and *Goring* can beget nothing in the behalfe of his Maieſtie there. They fed the *Iunto* at *Oxford* with ſo many *Spaniſh* Reaſons at the *Mounſiers* being there, that the ſent of them remaines ſtill in his noſtrils, he ſmells them as farre as *Paris*, and therefore cannot endure that *Goring* ſhould come neer him, notwithſtanding all the rare complements of *Kenelm Digby*.

Admonition to the Hollanders.

Spaniſh cruelty.

Complements.

Goring hated in France.

He tells us that the *States Generall have hitherto diſcountenanced our proceedings, and that they'l finde us ready to quarrell with them.* How faine theſe *Harryes* and theſe *Georges* from *Oxford* would ſet them and us together by the eares, that the *Spaniſh* Plot might thrive the better. I would have Merchants and others that deale with the *Dutch*, to inform them of this: This peece of ſtuffe was brought among the notes which *Diego George* had from his Father, and his Uncle *Gondemare*, and the *Hollanders* cannot but reſent it.

Caution for the Dutch.

But *Aulicus* hath not done with them yet; hee ſayes, *Wee will quarrell with them, unleſſe they be more righteous than the Lords Prayer, or Creede; and like well to be betrayed, libelled, and murdered.* More righteous than the *Lords Prayer*, or *Creede*? The *Hollanders* cannot but laugh at ſuch a comparative doctrine, or doctrinall comparition. And wee cannot but ſee now, what Religion they are of at *Oxford*, when they begin to print down-right Popery in *Mercurius Aulicus*, and ſpeak of righteouſneſſe in the *Lords Prayer* and *Creede*: It had been righteouſly done, to have added *Ave Marie* to them, and then it had been com-

pleat: but this is enough at a time, to tell us what is become of the Protestant Religion with them, and informe us who, and where they are, which would betray, libell murder, and massacre us, and all true Protestants, if it were in their power, and count the doing of it as meritoriously righteous, as the rambling over *Te Deums*, *Creedes*, *Pater nosters*, and *Ave Maries*.

No friend to Oxford but the Spaniards.

Hee tells us, *That We scorne any friendship, which serves not our Ambition.* But I tell him, that they have lost all friendship, by reason of their Ambition: Only the *Spaniard* is a friend to them for his owne ends, in hope at length to make a Prey of us. There is his Agent *Cottington*, who sits proudly upon the Pearch, with an ambitious look in the *Junto* of Lords, and there prunes and peeles their consultations, till he can spie a faire game for his Master; then he spreads abroad his *dammee* cap'd cloake, and seises upon it with a plausible approbation; I could name you more speakes of Ambition, which turne the maine engine of the *Junto*.

But I must meet with them at every turne, as *Aulicus* moves: Who tells us that *our Lords have hitherto been as properties to set out the worke, but are now prepared to be laid aside.* Those Lords know that thy base paper comes from *Oxford*, and take notice of thy poore, insinuating aime, which is too shallow to hit the marke: and are nobly resolved to lay aside all particular respects of their owne, so that they may further the publick. It would pitty a man to see so many of your *Junto-Lords* cashiered, not onely from the Kings eare, but from all properties and respect due to persons of their rank and quality, when his Maiesties Trencher-Squires, and Her Maiesties Soape and Starch-boylers, and the Dutchesses Gentlewomen of the Laundrie, conclude all over Tiffanie and Cambrick, with father *Phillips* his benediction.

The misery of the Junto.

The misery when.

He tells us of a *message about the Oath of secrecie*, and sayes, *Some in the Lower house grew full of wrath.* This *Lower House*, Readers, can be no other but their pretended, *lower House*; where you must know, they are very angry, and in great wrath against this *Oath of Secrecy* that makes them swear all the Oathes of God, and curse it by *bell, booke*, and *Candle*; a maine curse in their Religion, I can assure yee. Intelligence will be quite defunct now, when precious affaires are lock't up close in faithfull breasts, as so many cabinets; which being so reserved, will when necessitie requires, be produced swifter in action then fame, and render things done before they are talked of. By this means *Dick Greenvile*, and such *renegado Skellums*, will be the lesse enabled to doe us a grand discourtesie.

The excellent benefit of the Oath of Secrecie.

Hee

He tells us of a *debate concerning the two Sir* John Evelins, *and that the House was divided about them into* 71. *and* 65. *and spent above foure houres, and that* 65. *is more than* 71. This fellow is a prime Arithmetician to the *Junto*: but he abuses the Science infinitely, by confounding the two maine parts of it, *Multiplication* and *Subtraction*, into detraction: but any thing is current there which hath a twang against *Westminster*; They will use and abuse all Sciences to vent a slander. The last week he had a plot upon 25. now he hath another against 71. with the number 4. and 65. This numerall treason added to those numberlesse others against the State must not passe so. I must bethink my self, sure there is some new Arithmetick found out at *Oxford*, that hee is thus bold to vent *Paradoxes* against the old, and maintaine the lesser number to be more than the greater: How is it possible else they should be so impudent, to cry out that they had more *Members*, greater *Armies*, more loyalty, more of the Protestant Religion, more victories there, when all the world knowes they have lesse? and that you may see this new *Arithmetick* is confirmed by their practises, they still advance the smaller number above the greater: The number 1. with them is greater than 2. or 3. nay than 3000. or 300000. They have so wrested and stretched Monarchy which is but of one, and inherent in one by way of Eminency, though the government of this nation bee formally in many, that they will bee so unreasonable as to have it more than all, and all to be swallowed up in one gulph of prerogative. To come a little lower; they esteem one in the *Cabinet-Councell* more than forty of the *Junto*, one Papist more than twenty Protestants, one Irish more than ten English: One new-fashioned Lord *Iermin* more than a dozen of old Sap-lesse ones, and her Maiesties meer one self more then all beside. And I can assure you, if they goe on with this *Arithmetick*, we shall not have one priviledge, one liberty, nor one true Subiect left, unspoyled, or unmassacred.

Oxfords new Arithmetick.

He tells us, that Mr. *Rous is made Provost of Eaton*. It is a very fit place for him, *Aulicus*, and none but such as he, men of Integrity, Excellency, and learning: Three qualities which will hardly meet in the constitution of an Universiy Provost. You are mistaken, if you think I have but little charity in saying so; for though he which wrote *Charity mistaken*, the Fox-bearded Author, the Provost of *Queens Colledge* be not so qualified, yet when Reformation hath a free passage through *England*: I doe not denie, but that his successors may then bee of some Religion and honesty. They have another Provost there too of

Mr. Rous.

Orial

Oriall Colledge, old *Tolson*, a prime parcell of the Universitie *Iuno*, which ruled all there with their after-noon meetings in the same manner as *Canterbury* did at *White-hall* in the Privy Lodgings: This old Pigsnee-blade hath an admirable faculty in making tostes, and can employ a whole morning in the businesse, and hath a volume in his head bigger than *Castanæus*, of the distinctions of *Ale*; and these hee is a great deale better skil'd in than those of Divinity: for he was the first Author of that notable confutation called *Mentiris Bellarmine*, which since is growne to be a Proverbe, I thinke (*Ubi fata vocant* when death calls) it will be the onely relique of his *Doctor-ship* Braine which posterity will admire. I am sorry to think that Mr. *Rous* should have such competitors in the name of *Provost*. But it is no matter, it can hold so but for a time, then these over-worne *Arras worthies* with their shrivel'd faces, and consciences will be removed to make roome for laborious men of piety and desert, and other Govern-ships there too be bestowed as *Eaton* is, according to the best paterne of the Parliaments bounty upon so deserving a Patriot.

Good qualities of a Divine.

He speaks of Mr. *Rous* his *translating of the Psalmes, and sayes, it is done halfe as well as Hopkins and Wisdome*. Thus *Aulicus* in mentioning of halfe would bereave him of the whole honour due to so noble and laborious a work: We must needs say, that the English Meeter of our Psalms needs a Reformation as well as other things, and that it is farre beneath the excellencie and perfection which our English Tongue hath attained to since the time of *Hopkins* and *Wisdome*, who were both excellent in their time; and therefore it is most unworthily done, for any man to vilifie them now, as *Aulicus* doth, in his *Mimick Ironicall* meaning: Nor can I but think, that among those not a few which have taken pains this way since their time, a man of such eminent parts as Mr. *Rous*, hath equalled, if not excelled the best: His work I heare is in the hands of the *Assembly*, who are the true touch-stone, and cannot but discover gold from drosse.

Mr. *Rous* his *Psalms*

He tels us, that *Richard Lane* the *Counsellour is become Lchiefe Baron of the Exchequer*, and is angry that Mr. *Rolstrode Whitlock* should have his Lodging in the *Middle-Temple*. I pray you tell *Richard Lane* he is lighted into a Lordship as poor and as empty as your Exchequer at *Oxford*: What a pittie 'tis, a man learned in the Lawes should have no more conscience than so make use of his skill to destroy them, and by this meanes skrew himself into such a comfortlesse honour, such a cypher of Baronrie that will not amount to the number of 20. *l. per an.*

Counsellor *Lane* his poore Lordship.

nam, not enough to buy shooes, I know he envies Mr. *Whitlock*: but tell him patience is a vertue, and his Lodgings will be kept in better repair then his conscience.

He tells us, *that it is impossible to have 2000. l. per annum out of the L. Howard of Estrigh his revenues.* That is, *Aulicus*, it will be impossible for you to have so much out of his revenues, now, because you have plundered his Tenants, and taken up rents in a lump, and therefore cannot expect much from undone men upon the quarter day. But since you are fallen to counting and valuing of Lords estates; give me leave to aske you where *Harry Jermyns* estate lyes, and what his rents in *Duck alley* might amount to by the year. Where lyes Prince *Ruperts* estates? in every Village: All the countrey over he can gather rents at any time: They say, he is excellent good too, at a plump Farmers daughter in a barn, and so now then, though he seize upon all, he leaves some coyne of his own stamping behind, for the good peoples comfort in their old age. L. Howards rents. Jermyns rents. Prince Ruperts rents.

Aulicus hath done now abusing of Statesmen, and begins to think of war, and though with a heavie heart, yet he must talk in a high strain every way. Therefore fast he belyes the banging of the Princes Regiment neer *Banbury*, and rallies the skirmish backwards, and makes use of a neat word called *pursuing*, for running away; Saying, that *Captain* Trist *with 37. of the Regiment pursued.* Yes, that they did, trees and bushes, till they left them all behinde. But the story of this Fight is sufficiently known already. Banbury.

He tells us, *that we have a Scout-master*, a Knight that can scarce disguise himselfe. I hope we have no more Sir *Richards* here, we will take heed of more whiffling *Irish* wizards, that can hide Popery, roguery and villany underneath so many fair protestations: But the best of it is he hath undisguised himselfe, and betaken him to your disguised Knights at *Oxford*. I mean my selfe to unknight them, and hack off their spurres with the keen edge of truth in a Chronicle, and lay them and their designe bare and naked to posterity. Oxford disguised Knights.

He tells us of *a discourse between Mr.* Stephen *Marshall and Mr.* Obadiah *Sedgwick crowning a Treatie, and Bishops, and Cathedrall revenues.* A Treaty and Bishops, and Cathedrall Lands are well thought on together, *Aulicus*; thou knowest why Treaties go on no better, because Bishops fear their exorbitant concernments will be prejudiced a little, and their allowance straitned by his Majesties consent: They had rather see *England* be purpled with her childrens gore, than part with one mouthfull of the sacrifice belonging to their *God*, their Ambition and belly: If *Peters* chaire were not a frollick place, they would not care for it: Oh, they are prime engrossers of the keyes, and carnall comforts. Bishops a hindrance to Treaties.

He tells us, that on Tuesday, *March* the 8. there came out *A Materiall short Discourse*, called *the Iniquity of the solemn League and Covenant*. And I tell you, that before Thursday the 18. of *March* you shall have a more materiall short Answer to that virulent paper, called, *The Equity of the solemn League and Covenant*, &c. which will be sufficient to silence that lying Oracle.

He hath a great many of flourishes and skirmishes, which I passe over. If I should pull the plumes of this daring *Turkey-cock*, I have hardly room enough to lay them in: Therefore for this time I let him passe. *Aulicus* his flourishes.

He sayes, that *the Londoners expect all good from the North*: Good from the North? That is the reason, *Aulicus*, that the Bishops love not to heare of any thing which comes thence.

That

That *we made a fire thanksgiving fire for joy of our brethrens comming over the water of Tyne.* Good reason we should joy in one element for our happinesse in the other, especially because the passing of this water wil help to quench the flame of the Kingdome.

That this *passing of the Scots over Tyne is but slenderly reported.* Thou wouldst be impudent, I believe, still to say so, if thou shouldst hear the very report of their Cannon neare *Oxford* before *Michaelmas.*

That young Sir *Henry Vane* moved 500. li. *a moneth might be allowed for intelligence from the Scottish Army.* That were almost enough by the moneth to maintain Newcastles grand Army.

The Intelligence.

THE *things* in the *Parliament* at *Oxford*, nick-named Lords and Commons, Knights and Burgesses, either begin to grow insolent, or are forced, (which is most likely) by those that are most insolent than themselves to resolve upon strange fentes called *Votes*, so that their mouthes were unmuzzled to give their assent to the dangerous Votes, but I believe they will be so well rewarded for it shortly, that they will be forced to double and trebble Masse for the upholding of their cause in the Queens Chappell. I need not name these Votes to you, because they have been often in the presse: only *I* shall adde somewhat by way of observation.

Oxford Votes.

The first Vote gives us to understand, that after long consultation, they have found out one maine grievance, which is the comming in of our Brethren of Scotland: This grievance being absolutely out of their power to redresse, they doe as much as poore creatures can doe to their power to affright us; and therefore would have us to believe that it is high treason.

Some observations.

Another notable grievance is a new *great Seale*, which hath so much troubled them, that out of indignation they would be revenged upon us with another pretty Vote which calls this Seale all to naught, and those that made it Traytors.

Another grievance to them is, that the Parliament sits here still at *Westminster*, and therefore for being true to their Countrey in keeping their Parliament (by what they will have it concluded in a Non-sence *Vote*, that *they are to be proceeded against* (but which way?) *as traytors to the Kingdome.*

But the maine grievance to them, and which indeed should have been the first taken notice of by me, is our most Noble Generall, and his gallant proceedings in the behalf of the whol Kingdom, whom these worthlesse Incendiaries would very fain brand with the guilt too of High-treason, and all those that have adhered, or been assisting unto him; But this he may glory in, as a true badge of honour to be hated by them, an impious rabble of Apostates, and this will serve to quicken his resolution against these, not onely enemies of his, but of God and his Country.

I conceive, because this piper may chance to goe further than others; It were no better course to give the people some short Observations upon these desperate Oxford Votes, than to fill the residue of my roome with flying Newes.

Doubt. Whether it be more for honor of a King, to yeeld to the desires of Subjects, then to stand out against them?

Satisfact. I answere, That it must of necessitie be a great dishonour for a King to stand in opposition to his people; for when the whole body of a Kingdome shall present their humble and earnest Petitions unto him, and yet be denied, this denyall must be Injustice, because in all reason it cannot bee, that the people should crave a generall ruine.

Printed according to Order, by G. Bishop. 1644.

their false on K. pp. London

Numb. 28. 5

Mercurius Britanicus,

Communicating the affaires of great

BRITAINE:

For the better Information of the People.

From *Monday* the 18. of *March*, to *Monday* the 25. of *March*. 1644.

READer, you will not believe what a do I have to come abroad, one holds me by a leafe in the licensing, another would hold me in at the printing, another juggles, and raises up a disguise, that I should not know my selfe, and puts on the old clothes of a former *Britanicus*, and walks the streets, as if he would outface me in my owne likenesse, I am like honest *Sosia* in the Comedie, out sworn, out swaggered, by another in a habit like my selfe; these are the Arts, and tricks, and whimsies, that the *Malignants* practise to *silence* me, or betray me, because I speak home, as well as abroad, because I tell you who are honest, who are faithfull, who are Parliamenterian, who are new *Pyms*, and *Penningtons*, who are old *Hurries*, and *Greenviles*, because I have a reasonable universall knowledge of men, and gives you their Characters most justly, and tells ye of any secret, and dormant quality I know, and believe it, there are few in this Cause, but I shall give you a note or two upon his conditions, I shall tell you what he may prove, and I hold it the best service I can do this Cause, to set out the vertues and deserts of the best, the treacherie, malignitie, Cavalerisme of the worst; Are not these times, think ye, to tell ye of men? would ye not thanke me for *distinguishing* for ye in such equivocating, courting, pretending times; I here proclaime, if there be any that have a *Plot* in their head, a *villanie* in their heart, a *mark* of the Beast in their hand, let them depart, for I shall out with it, it is my profession to speake, and declare, and cry out, and now that I have taken the *Covenant*, I shall discover more then I did before, and I thinke I did indifferently then; I professe my selfe one that takes off all hoods, habits, cloaks, periwigs, gloves, gownes, cassocks, and every thing that hides and coyers the Subjects, either at *Oxford*, or

Plots against Britanicus

London,

London, I must tell, and foretell; I must speake, and speake out; I must hold my candle to the times, to let you see who walkes there, or here, and for this, I am so beplotted, and bespotted, and haunted, and hunted, but my condition is to be ten times worse, the more they strive with me, as some can justifie; therefore if any stand in my way, I shall give faire warning first, but then I shall have no pity, if they remove not, I shall out with them, though they be *Bishops*, for I am most troubled with those pieces of *Antichrist*, or Archbishops, or Deanes, or Archdeacons, or &c. I was monstrously troubled with a *Bishop* last weeke, but he is *Diocesan* onely of a Printing-house in the City, and sets up a false *Britannicus*; I suppose that *Armagh*, *Duppa*, *Williams*, *Land*, *Wren*, *Morton*, have by some secret correspondencie forged a *Britannicus*, and because it should be more reverendly set forth, they have made Master *Bishop* himselfe the Printer; but I have done with him for this time: if this will not serve, I must lay out more Inke; but now to *Antiens*.

Master Strickland.

He tells us of our *Parliaments* striving to be like the *States*, and of their instructions agreed on for Master *Strickland*; and Reader, why not States? Is not this Kingdome a State? Is not this the State of England? Have they no Freedome, no Power, no Priviledge in the Legislative power of this Kingdome? But now he tells us of Master *Strickland*, I must remember ye as well as he of that Gentleman, he is one that is *eminent* both in parts, and language, and faithfulnesse, and Religion, & he is not only Agent, but active, he hath prevented and crushed many an expedition, and confederacie in the shell, and though we wonder the States of Holland have contributed so much to the miseries of England (a very bad payment for former curtesies) yet this *Gentleman* hath diverted many a Tun of Powder, many a Petard, and Granado, and hath raised up many a contrary winde in *Holland*, and stayed the ships in their Havens, and though a strong gale blew from the States Generall, yet there would come a contrary blast from the States Provinciall, and this was raised by Master *Strickland*; I will say this of him, he is one that hath lived in *Italy*, *France*, and so many States, as if *Providence* had beene *educating* the Gentleman for this very negotiation; in a word, he is as faithfull abroad in other States, as his brother, that noble Patriot, is at home in this State, in this Parliament.

States Generall.

He tells us of the States Generall, Reader, it is a Maxime, there is alwayes some tricks and equivocalls, when the tearmes are so generall; I would the States were not so generall, but a little more particular and singulary and Provinciall.

Forged.

He tells us the *States* Generall doth discountenance our proceedings, it is

it as false as that the Prince of *Orange* is King of the Netherlands, or that he intends to make himselfe; what though they sell some ammunition, it is their trade, not their treachery towards this kingdome.

He tels us of the *Lords* that will not agree to the *Oath of Secrecy*, and he likes exceedingly well of it; I should be sorry we should act any thing here, that should fit the designe at *Oxford*, or any thing that *Aulicus* should laugh at, and *Britannicus* weepe at; then he would call our *Lords*, the very *States Generall*; but I hope their Lordships will agree to sit as private as the House of Commons. Oath of secrecy.

He tels us of a *Member* that said, If the Lords agree not we are able to stand upon our own legs; and I wonder he names not the Gentleman, but he is loth to provoke any of the States of Holland, for fear they should have no more Gunpowder; but that Gentleman he means is above his slander, and so is Sir *Peter Wentworth*, whom he names out for his report to the *Lords*; but the best is, though Sir *Peter* made a report to the Lords, yet *Aulicus* can make no report of him, but as honourably as Sir *Peter* himselfe made to the Lords. A Member.

He tels us of old Sir *Harries* man, and quotes him, but Sir *Harry* is not so old, but he knowes whom he keeps, and what Livery he gives his man. Sir Harries man.

He tels us about a *debate*, and how the *House were divided* about the two Sir *John Evelins*; and of some Members that were sent for from a Committee, to make up the lesser number, and of four houres spent, of 61. and 71. and 65? Thus Reader, the *Aulicus* is losing his wits in Parliament Arithmaticke; he much triumphs when he can heare of the House divided, though it be but a division of four hours long; for I thank God our divisions are but calme agitations and peaceable disputes of order and priviledge; but indeed it is true, such a debate there was; such a 71. there was, such a 65. and a 61. and a sending for some from the Committee too; and all this, and why not all this, and more; these are but discussings of circumstances, and a pleading of priviledges; here is no division either *Spanish* or *French*, here is neither *Forbes* faction, nor *Rupert's* faction, nor *Herefords* faction, nor *Jermins* faction. House divided.

He tels us of something *Michael Oldsworth* said at a Friday nights supper. Do you see, now the cloth is taken away, *Aulicus* would be casting in bones. Michael Oldsworth.

He tels us of the tweny five again, I tell thee, this tweny five will undoe them if they be no more, yet so long as they take *no oath of secrecy*, I heare they at *Oxford* will not greatly grumble. Twenty five.

He tels of the *Speaker*, and gives him an *Epithite*, as he hath had many from Court, it is neither newes nor intelligence to the eminency of this Gentleman to reade a slander from *Oxford*; but the best is, he hath been so long in the Chaire, that his worth, and excellent, and cordiall endeavours, hath set into the very *judgements* of all that knowes him; and this Master *Speaker* shall be in a Chaire, when the other at *Oxford* shall be going to the stoole for fear; but how can he in the Convocation house be a Speaker, who was born but six weeks since, and a *Speaker* already. Oh prodigious! It were good they would bring him to London, and shew him for a wonder, they might raise as much money as at a plunder, for the sight of him. M. Speaker.

He tels us some things erected by the new *Counsell of State*, did you ever see thing so vex them as this new Counsell doth; there is not a week passes but have at the New Counsell, but the best is, every thing thrives better for *Aulicus* his railing; you see how long he hath railed against the Parliament, and yet it never prospered better then at this time: is it not excellent, that after a Winters and a Summers scandall, this Parliament should look so fresh and springing, and blossome into such Armies, and powers, and successe, the *Oxford* aire or reproaches, is not able to blast the counsels of such a *Senate*. Counsell of State.

Lord Howard. Mr. Rous. Master Whitlock. Earle of Bristoll Bishop of Armagh.

He jeeres the Lord *Howard* of *Eschrig*, who hath the Sequestration of anothers Estate, and Mr. *Rous* made provost of *Eaton*, and Mr. *Whitlocks* new lodgings in the middle Temple, this *Aulicus* undertakes to communicate Intelligence from the Court, and he never looks back at that, there is no newes of their doings there, but all he communicates, is from our Parliament, and of late Sequestrations; he tells us what our Lord *Howard* hath, but he never tells us what the Lord *Ierrein* hath, how much is sequestred for his use, he talkes of our pensions, but he tells not who sent *Bristoll* his last gold chaine from the great house in *Madrid*. He tells us of Mr. *Rous* his Psalmes but he never tells us of the Bishop of *Armagh*. Monarchy, who hath writ a Booke in defence of the Prerogative, and Tyrany, and I do persuade my selfe the next book he writes, will be a recantation of all his former truths, Printed against *Rome*, let but the Bishops alone, and they will write any thing, *Armagh* shall write against the Commandments next weeke, and make him an Archbishop: did you ever see such things as these Bishops are? this is he that preached once very well, till they touched his Episcopacy, and then he grew wilde, and will now write any contradiction, errour, Schisme, Heresie, Treason, what you will, he shall prove Plunder, and Popery, to be a speciall requisite in Monarchy.

He tells us of Mr. *Whitlocks* lodgings in the middle Temple, that godly Patriot, but yet *Aulicus*, he is no middle Temple man, as many of your things at *Oxford* are, all middle-Temple creatures, neutralls in Religion, for so I may call all your indifferents, your luke-warmed, your Codlings, your halfe masted Malignants, they are all of the middle-temple and middle-way, any moderate way, neither directly to heaven nor to hell, but in the middle.

Bridges and Hawkesford.

He tells us of our two valiant Commanders, *Bridges* and *Hawkesford*, that fell in upon Major *Jackson*, who (he sayes) according to his usuall course, every Sunday Morning, was drawing out his Regiment, I pray take notice of this Major, that is every Sabbath at his Regiment, before his devotion, but it is well they confesse it, people will now believe; but this Major *Jackson* of *Oxford* I think is halfe brother to one of that name neer Grayes Inne, both Gentlemen of the middle Temple, as I take it; but he tells us how Sir *William Compton* of theirs pursued our valiant Commanders, that had taken *Jackson* and his Regiment, and fell upon them and took some; now for this story, some of it is true, that *Compton* fell on, but he tells you not how he fell off, for they forced him to run faster from us, then he ran after us, a pretty course for a Knight of his fashion, but the best is, the Gentleman is in pretty good breath, and hath been much used to these ayrings on the backside of a victory.

Scout Master.

He tells us now of a Knight, our *Scout-Master*, *Aulicus*, name him, we are not ashamed of him, it is Sir *Samuel Luke*, one that is as tall in activity, courage, resolution, and Religion as any Commander in all our Armies, and though *Aulicus* make a long story of him and Colonell *Cromwell*, and Colonell *Pickering*, and of their doings at Sir *Alexander Denton's* house, which story he doth so prolong, and ratifie into a most pittifull relation as he can devise to make, Interlining many things against our noble and gallant spirits, Sir *Samuel Luke*, Colonell *Cromwell*, Colonell *Pickering*, who are onely famous in this, that they have made worke for *Aulicus*, that he may have occasion to translate any victory into cruelty, any taking possession into plundering, firing, killing, but for the people who were put to the sword, there was cause enough, the enemy set the first Copy to their own violence, and gave the first stroake of provocation for that; but he tells us of so many women, so many Carts, so much straw, so many paire of breeches, so many hoods, scarfes, coats, and of an old property in Sir *Alexanders* Kitchin, and of Master *Okeley* the Minister, who was drove bare foot; now

it may be this *Okely* was some Popish Priest (as they have many) that begged leave of Sir *Samuel* to walke on foot for penance or Pilgrimage before the forces.

He tells us of our *brethren of Scotland*, who are so devout to perfect this worke, *Authour*, I am glad to hear such newes from Scotland out of thy Diurnall, and may they perfect what they begin in this worke. Brethren of Scotland.

He tells us more good newes, that our brethren have made an *Ordinance* for raising moneys upon Excise in Scotland, excellent good newes, some more of this: He tells us they have also made a second Ordinance for putting themselves into a second posture of defence, is not this excellent, to hear all this from the enemies Quarters too? *Authour*, I prethee continue this weekly Intelligence from Scotland, and thou shalt have a thing like a pension, which may amount to as much in time as the contribution that is paid to thee from all plunderings, and pillagings in his highnesse Prince *Ruperts* Army, for now it is oddes it will be nevermore his Majesties again, the young man knowes his own game too well for that. Good newes

He tels us that we are resolved to be *Kings* or *Scots*, and you at *Oxford* to be *Queens* or *Sots*, for never was a whole *Junto so infatuated*, so led about by the Apron strings, they dare do nothing, Vote nothing, Act nothing, but first they send out a Privado, and he was to know if it be her Majesties pleasure, and if she be at rest, or talking with ——— then the Dutchesse of *Buckingham* sends an answer in her Majesties name, was there ever such a company of Lords and Gentlemen, that pretend to State affairs, and yet not daring to speake without leave from *hoods* and *petticoats*, is it not pretty, that when the Dutches sends her Gentlewoman at night to the thing called their *Speaker*, he should not dare to open his mouth all the next day, but just so many times as he is commanded by the Lady in the Crimson Sattin Waft-coate, is it not pretty, that so many proper Lords and Gentlemen should be slaves and vassals to my Lady, &c. ——— and my Lady, &c. ——— and my Lady, &c. ———. Kings or Scots.

He tels us of the *Scots* at London that are our *Oracles*, and how they sit in *Worcester-house*; and tell his sacred Majesty, it will be his safest counsell to come up to London, and take the Covenant; and Reader, is it not good advice? Is it not fit for a King, a captive King to hearken to, and returne? Would he not sit richlier and more gloriously at Westminster, then in the middest of so much popery at *Oxford*, and so many women about the Throne: But you see how they libell our Brethren of Scotland, just as they did when they were well beaten at *Newburne* upon *Tyne*. I am glad they are beginning to raile at our wise and prudent Counsell from Scotland, whom he cals an Oracle, and justly, for there is not one of these, either the Earle of *Maitland*, or any of the rest, but their counsels have been as successefull as Oracles in their own kingdome, and we hope will be the like in ours, now that we have joyned Oracles together, but you see how his pen hath no power to slander them, he cals them honourably whether he will or no: but I take not Oracles here in an *Oxford* sense, for so their *Junto* is an Oracle, that is, such a thing as the Devill uses now to speak through and informe. Scots at London.

He tels us of Mr. *Marshalls* private conference with Mr. *Seidgwick* and *Allistan*, you must think it was very private, and they whispered, when he could heare it to *Oxford*: but will you know the occasion of this slander, M. *Marshall* preached a Panegyrick to the Parliament and City, and gave thanks for a deliverance from their wicked policy and designe in January, and he preached at Mr. *Pyms* funerall, and they are angry too, he will not preach such a funerall Sermon to the whole Parliament, and that the Parliament will not dye for such a solemnity; they are angry at Master *Stigwick* for publishing such good doctrine at S. *Andrewes* in *Holborne*; these are the Master Marshall.

causes and provocations, very capitall crimes you see, the least is for *godlinesse, zeale*, and *Presbytery*.

Prince Rupert. He tels us of Prince *Ruperts Highnesse*, indeed he may call him *his Highnesse*, for he hopes to be higher then his Majesty shortly, if all be true I heare from thence; *Rupert* is fitting his head for the *Crowne*, and intends to ware a Mounterce under it, if his head be too little for it, as it must needs; but what shall the Kingdom do if he get the Crowne, for he will presently send it after the Iewells, but before the Crown be set upon his head, I would first have his head at a reasonable distance from the wilde part of his body.

A losse. He tells us of a losse Sir *Thomas Fairfax* received, and Colonell *Mitton*, but this is a story of the same size with the rest, for he never tells true word but from Scotland, and the reason is, that the truths there are worse to him, and more hatefull, then any lie of his own can please him.

Sir William Waller. He tels us of Sir *William Waller*, and his Letter to Master *Speaker*, and his losse of some few preparations in the West; for my part I am never moved with the reports of this little shoot and an halfe, for I have traced him so into all his equivocations and untruths, that I knew any of his lies by the very looke.

Master Speaker. He would scandalize Master Speaker again, but the best is, he is the best man that hath most scandalls from thence, and Master *Speaker* hath too glorious a reputation to fall under the cloud of his report, those that know him, know he hath sat more eaven and eminently in that Seat, then ever any of his predecessours, since the first chaire in that house was seated there; and for Sir *William Waller*, yeere not that gallant Commander, who is the very same Sir *William* that took *Arundell*, and all your brave Reformadoes there.

Sir Henry Vane. He tells us of young Sir *Harry Vane* that moved for a Pension for Intelligence from the Scots, you see then there is no such divisions betwixt the *Presbytery*, and our other brethren, as you would insinuate, remember your contradictions.

Sir John Wray. I must needs vindicate Sir *John Wray*, who is accused by *Anlicus* for speeches, and I dare say they cannot bring forth a speech from *Oxford* that breaths so much honour to Religion, so much cordiality to his Country, so much freenesse and ingennity to his friends, and let them shew me one at *Oxford* in al their *Junto*, that hath bin so often elected by their Country for the Knight of their Shire, as this Gentleman, but I must here remember his son, Captaine *Wray*, prisoner so long under the enemy, one of so Religious a temper, so firmely spirited in the Cause, after so many attempts to Royalize him, and yet all his deserts neglected, laid by, forgotten, and himselfe yet prisoner; I could here Petition that the zeale, and activity, and courage of that Gentleman might be dis-imprisoned withall speed.

Captaine Wray.

In the last *Britanicus* there was something omitted in the presse, and it was concerning Master *Nye*, for I would have the world know that there was not a sillable writ concerning him, but I would have it equally interpreted to rise to the height of as worthy and eminent a Divine as is in this *Reformation*.

The

The Intelligence.

YOu may remember the *News* from *Warwickeshire*, how two Captains with their Troopes were sent out to watch the enemy, and having opportunity, they beat up the Earle of *Northampton's* Quarters, and took the Earles Colours, and a Colonells Colours, two Colours of Foot, eighty Horse, and divers prisoners. Newes from Warwickshire.

Our *brethren of Scotland* have met with many difficulties in their advance, by weather and want, the enemy having burnt and destroyed, most barbarously, what they could not drive and carry away, insomuch that they never had above twenty foure houres provision for their Army since they came over the Tine; the enemy faced them with about 14000. horse and foot, two dayes and nights in bitter weather, and both Armies were drawne up in battell, but, by reason of the extraordinary snow that fell, nothing could be done, which was an opportunity for the Earle of *Newcastle* to retreat, but have lost, as we heare, eight hundred of their Horse, besides the losse of their Foot, their Horse and Men dying through the extremity of the weather; our brethren had also some losse, but no ways considerable. Brethren of Scotland.

The enemy hastened their march to *Durham*, and our brethren are now marched that way to day as occasion shall serve them, having left two Regiments behinde them at *Sunderland* to secure that place, thus have they with constant resolutions, through many difficulties, undertaken this hazardous Epedition, for the promoting of so good a Cause, as to root out *Popery*, and *Tyranny*, and to settle a through *Reformation*, and the more firmely to unite both Kingdomes.

From the *North of Ireland*, we heare they are in a sad condition for want of food and raiment, two Regiments of the Scots are comming away, and so will the rest, if speedy supply be not sent. North of Ireland.

We are informed, that the *Confederate Catholiques* of Ireland have writ to the *Queene Regent* of France, to send over to them the 3000. Foot promised, and two thousand more in *June* next, (which are indeed intended for England) the Letter and Messenger were intercepted, and a Passe from his Majestie, and the Lord *Digby*, by which may easily be perceived their intentions of Peace at *Oxford*, and is suteable to their late Votes purposely to cut of all hopes of an Accommodation. Confederate Catholiques.

Captaine

Captaine Jordaine and Captain Thomas.

Captaine *Jordaine*, and Captaine *Thomas*, have done good service for the Parliament at Sea, they have chased the Earle of *Marlbrough* from place to place, who never durst stay to fight; they have taken also one ship of the enemies of an hundred and ten Tuns burden, with thirteene Peeces of Ordnance, and two barques of thirty six Tuns apiece, which are of so good a value in lading, that they are sufficient to defray all the charges of the ships in their company for the last yeeres service, and the Seamens thirds deducted.

Newarke.

Two hundred of our souldiers at the *Leaguer* before *Newarke* were surprised by the enemy, who sallied out of their Garrison, as the others came to relieve a watch, this I hope will make the rest more cautelous; since this we are credibly informed Prince *Rupert* is gone into Leicestershire towards *Newarke*, therefore it is doubtfull whether the Siege will continue, or that they will rise and give him a meeting, which is probable, unlesse the Earle of *Manchesters* forces do timely follow the *Plunderer*, and make diversion.

Sir William Wallet.

Sir *William Waller* is upon his advance towards *Hopton* with a brave Army, so that you may expect suddenly to heare of action, which if it should not succeed well, repentance would be bought at a very deare rate for not timely recruting and supplying his Excellency, who might have been our reserve and Bulwarke if any disaster should happen, and might have diverted many inconveniencies, which we have suffered by the enemies parties, which we already see begin now (for want of his Excellencies so recruting) to grow to mischiefes.

Doubt.

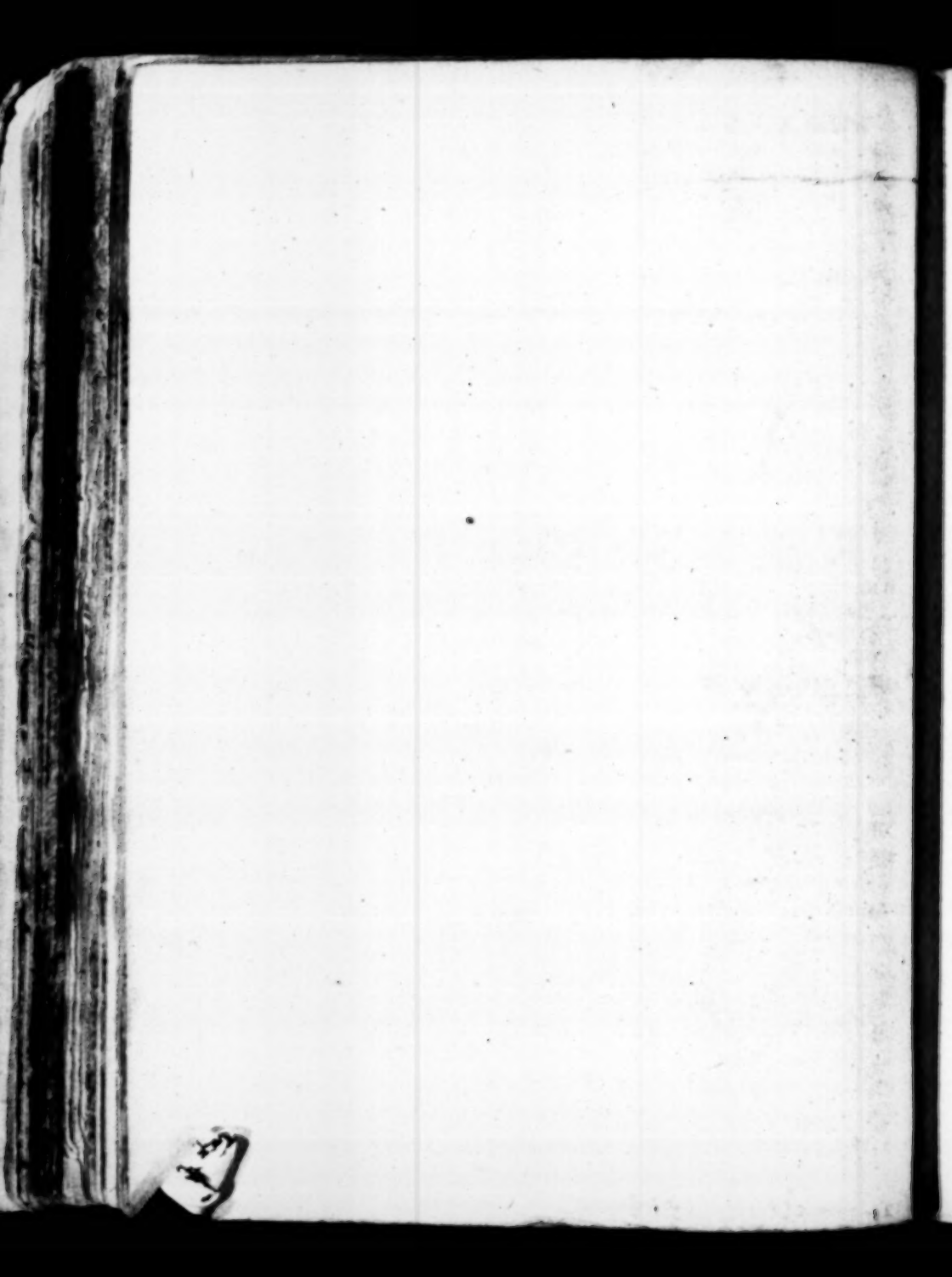
Why do so many fight for the Prerogative to make themselves slaves?

Resolution.

I answer: That though slavery be not the primarie, and first thing, or object, they looke at, (for it is unreasonable to thinke any sober men should looke upon that as a cause or impulsive) yet it is a secondary, and consequence: But I answer: That the people in generall fight only under a delusive notion, and the name of the King is set forth as the *umbrella* for the poore deluded Subject.

Printed according to Order for *Robert White*.

25. martii. 1644



LITERÆ
A Conventu Theologorum IN ANGLIA;
ET Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ Delegatis, ad Ecclesias in *Belgio, Gallia, Helvetia, aliasque Reformatas,*

(Prout ordinaverat Honoratissima Domus Communium in Parliamento Congregatorum) exaratæ, missæ, & in lucem editæ. Unà cum singulis earundem inscriptionibus.

LONDINI,
Impensis *Radulphi Smith*, sub Bibliis auratis, juxta Cambium Regale, 1644.

LIBRARY

Literæ a Conventu Theologorum in *Anglia*, & Eccleſiæ *Scoticanæ* Delegatis, ad Eccleſias in *Belgio, Gallia, Helvetia*, aliaſque Reformatas.

Reverendi admodum viri, & Fratres in Chriſto dilectiſſimi,

NOS Theologi cæterique quos Authoritas jam ſedentis in Angliâ Parlamenti coegit in Synodum, unà cum eis quos è Scotiâ delegavit Conventus Eccleſiæ Generalis, Vos quâ decet obſeruantiâ, ſalutamus in Domino. Diu eſt ex quo credidimus calicem hunc quem epotandum vindex Dei manus exhibuit, ac omne genus calamitates, ſub quarum onere ingemiſcit & tantùm non obruta eſt noſtra Britannia, veſtris auribus inſonuiſſe. Quinimò, quum miniſtris Satanæ nihil antiquius, quàm (dum fraudibus & mendaciis ubique quærunt ſui ſceleris patrocinium) allorum conatus pro repurgandâ quam pollutum eunt Eccleſiâ, tuendâque quam proculcant libertate, ubique gentium defamare; fieri poteſt ut per ſuos emiſſarios nos etiam pinxerint apud vos quovis Æthiope nigriores. Veremur itaque, ne ob altum hactenus ſilentium de genuino, ut ut miſero, rerum Anglicarum ſtatu tum noſtræ ipſorum innocentiæ, tum veſtræ omnium expectationi defuiſſe videa-

videamur. Sed date quæsumus, fratres charissimi, tremoris poculo penè ad stuporem ebrijs, & summis cum angustijs ad hanc usque horam indies luctantibus veniam date, si in officio vobis tam debito, nobis tam necessario fuimus juto tardiores. Liceat aliquando tandem onusta pectora in amicos suos exonerare: repetere liceat illatam ab Antichristi assectis Regno olim florentissimo, cladem dicamus, an internecionem? Illi, illi sunt, qui, post multa Reformationis impedimenta, mille Papatûs lenocinia, ad id virium pervenerunt, ut nisi præsto nobis sit & in præsidiis Omnipotens Pater, (cujus nec judicia methodum, nec miserationes numerum habent) stare videtur in procinctu παρασκευὴ.

Quantum aliquot retrò lustris ista viperarum progenies ad ruinam aliarum quæ Reformatæ meritò audiunt Ecclesiarum ex industriâ contulit; quid ei Palatinatus eversus, quid prodita perditaque Rupella debuit; quàm ingeniosè fovit & auxit calamitates quibus interim medicam manum adhibere visa est; adèo vos ad unum omnes partim ratio, partim verò sensus edocuit, ut nostro non opus sit eloquio. Pariter & latêre neminem arbitramur odium penè Vatinianum quo vos id genus hominum prosequi amat, dum ex eis plurimi vestris omnibus ausi sunt locum & sortem inter Ecclesias Jesu Christi denegare, quoniam scilicet Prælatura facit Ecclesiam, Pontificatus (ausus dicere) proprii nominis Ministerium.

Certi sumus, apud nos in tribus hisce Regnis, ebullire profecisse sceleratissimam factionem, ut qui cuncta Pontificiæ Religionis incrementa, puræ deliquia, velit persequi, scribat oportet non epistolam, sed volumen. Ecquid enim est hujusmodi quod non tentavit aliquoties? imò quod non ex aliquâ parte perpetravit? Argumenta nobis sunt ad manum nimis, heu! nimis, multa. Bonarum legum, quas adversus Pontificios patres nostri sancichant, fœda suspensio: Judicum, ne in mortis reos sacerdotes æquam ferrent sententiam, iniqua satis prohibitio: Jesuitarum è suis carceribus liberatio: Cœnobia, non Hiberniæ tantum, sed & Angliæ, tolerata: postquam nostratibus extera quæque seminaria satis imminè repleviſſent: Papistarum coryphæi, vel invitis legibus, tam perspicuis, tam numerosis, in ipsam Aulam, ipsa dignitatum culmina conscendentes;

dentes; alii verò ſummâ donati impunitate, dum quī eos in jus vocabant atro digni carbone cenſebantur: miſſi hinc trans Alpes mandatarii: & ab ipſa Româ recepti Nuntii, quibuſcum etiam agitata ſunt conſilia: Romæ denique addictiſſimi in gratiâ habiti; dum Miniſtris Evangelii & ejudem Zelotis perſecutionum onus incubuit Ætnâ gravius.

Erant autem hæc in propatulo, Sole (quod aiunt) meridiano clariora. Unde factum eſt, ut cœperint unà cum Præſulibus Presbyteri, quos Circe Latialis incantaverat, eodem fermento populum imbuere; totum fere Papiſmi lolium (ſi Pontificis Primatum excipiatis) per totam Angliam ſeminare; novos in cultu ritus inducere; plebem ad ſuperſtitionem impellere; reluctantibus dicam dicere: ſe verò, illi qui pietatem lucro æſtimant, in Romani Pontificis gremium recipere. Interea temporis obturata ſunt eis ora, quibus natis in Italia Ceremoniis obtemperare religio erat; aut recitare nequam libellum, eum nempe per quem populus docebatur ludis nullo die licitis (ſi rectè judicent Eccleſiæ quas Reformatas dicimus) ipſum diem Dominicum temerare. Quid memoremus multa millia quà Paſtorum, quà piorum è populo, qui exilium has ob cauſas vel ſubire coacti ſunt, vel eligere? quorum aliquibus remotiſſimæ fines Americæ, nonnullis veſtræ ditiones gratum hoſpitium præbuere.

Vicinjora luber attingere. Eò ventum audaciæ, ut Scotiam adorti ſint univerſam ariete novo; Libro ſcilicet uno Liturgiam, altero Canones Eccleſiaſticos, utroque farraginem Ceremoniarum Rituúmque Romanenſium continente. Hoſce quum pro ſolitâ ſuâ pietate Gens illa rejecerat; Regiæ (proh dolor!) Majeſtati perſuaſum eunt non ſolùm læſæ Majeſtatis crimen inurere, ſed & in ſuam gentem ingentem exercitum illico ducere, cui alendo tota factio Papicolarum opem ſimul & opes non aperte minùs quàm abundè contulit. Quod ſi non iviſſet obviam Summi Numinis providentia Scotorum copiis militaribus aſpirando, illataſque eis injurias in apricum proferendo; ſi non obſtitiſſet tanto facinori Comitia hæc Parliamentaria tam opportunè convocando, ut fratrum ſuorum innocentiæ conſulerent, & Regnorum paci; verſa dudum fuiſſet noſtra Britannia in Aceldama, & in fraterno alterius

ſanguine.

ſanguine Natio altera triumphâſſet. Hoc quidem malè feriatis in animo, hoc in votis fuit. Sed viſum eſt Deo Opt. Max. publicis utriuſque Populi tum conſiliis, tum rebus geſtis tic adeſſe, ut Regna viderimus ferruminata, quæ illi diviſa voluerunt. Quin & Angliam fere univerſam pœnitendi deſiderium occupaverat, & ad ſtatum meliorem anhelandi: Senatores præſertim Honoratiſſimos ad Domum Domini reſarciendam repurgandamque cupîdo invaſerat longe piiſſima. Atque hinc nil pene aliud, quam abeuntem procul hyemem, quam ſalutem unà cum pace reducem, ſperare miſeri cœperamus.

At verò (quod proferre nefas eſt ſine novo gemitu) aliud nobis, heu! longe aliud, in fatis erat. Siquidem noſter ille Deus, qui rodentem ſenſim *tineam* prius egerat, rugientem nuper *leonem* induit. Id quod nos horrendâ peccatorum mole promeriti ſumus: quin &, ſi ad interitum uſque peſſundemur, illius juſtitiam celebrabimus, virgam excipiemus oſculo, manum denique ſalutiferam præſtolabimur. Utut fuerit, ſciat Orbis Chriſtianus eandem plane factionem, quæ priorum mater audiit, noviſſimarum etiam cladium genitricem extitiſſe. Non eam res adverſus Scotiam male geſta, non præſentium Comitiorum fixa reformandi ſententia vel hilum ab incæpto deterruit, quin animos ſibi ſumpſit nuperrime, & fecit progreſſus multo quàm antehac ampliores. Nimium eſt, quod excitârint in Hiberniâ rebellionem omnium, quas Sol unquam vidit, atrociſſimam; utpote in quâ (ſi Papiſtis eâ de re gloriantibus fides adhibenda ſit) ex unâ Provincia, idque intra paucos menſes, Proteſtantium plus quam centum millia ceciderunt. At multo majus, quod in Anglia Sereniſſimi Regis animum à ſummo ipſius fideliſſimóque Concilio alienum reddiderint, ſimulac rationem ab eorum primipilaribus rerum à ſe geſtarum exegerat; quod ei perſuaſerint (poſt conatum in ipſo Senatu egregios aliquot Senatores per armatos ſatellites prehendendi) ſemet à Parliamento ſubducere, imo & exercitum cogere. Qui quidem exercitus, ut in tanti mali primordiis præ ſe ferre voluerunt, e ſolis conflari Proteſtantibus videbatur: qnanquam tunc etiam temporis nihil Papicolis, quibus abdita conſiliorum patuerunt,

runt, fere ſolennius, quàm & hîc & alibi gentium preces fundere, *Ut felix id eſſet operis faustumque, quod in bonam causæ Catholicæ gerebatur in Angliâ*; quàm profiteri, *Delitendum ſuis eſſe, donec noſtræ Religionis homines* (ſi modo noſtræ, ſi ullius religionis ſint) *ſe rebus biſce immiſceriſſent abſque ullâ regrediendi ſpe; tunc opportunè prodeundum.* Cui ſane conſilio reſpondit eventus: Poſtquam enim, ſub ſpecioſo Regiæ Prærogativæ, Privilegiorum Regni, & purioris Religionis prætextu, bellum & arma ſpirare cœperant ſpecie tenus Proteſtantes, (quorum tamen magna pars, antè hos tumultus, præter minoris notæ crimina, perduellionis rea peragebatur; alii ſe non minus obnoxios ſentiebant; queis aceenſeri merito debent vitioſi cum ſuis diſcipulis clerici) ſtatim Papiſtæ (quibus hactenus nulla vis ab exercitu Regio illata eſt, Proteſtantibus interim, etiam minùs cauſæ noſtræ faventibus, dira paſſis) ad arma capienda Regio Diplomate, & promiſſis ſolvendi, ſi deperderentur, armorum precii animantur: e primariis nonnulli ad præfecturas acciti ſunt: tota denique gens Pſeudocatholica junctis viribus, ſuâ gaudens ſuperſtitione uſque ad ipſius Miſſæ in loco non uno exercitium, & e partibus tranſmarinis (quibus vanis nulliúſque fidei argumentis illuſerant) opibus introcti, ac militibus, necnon omni apparatu bellico, in omnes veræ pietatis & Auguſti Senatûs aſſectas, deprædando, ſpoliando, trucidando, immane quantum graſſata eſt undique!

Quæ prima cluet apud nos & ſuprema Curia, quum perſentiſceret vaſra hæc inſtrumenta nequitiæ ab ipſis meritò intentata Legem noſtrarum ſeveritate ſemet armata vi protegere, ac conſilia longe peſſima promovere; pro ea qua pollet vigilantia, Claſſem unà cum Regni Propugnaculis in tuto ponere; Legi etiam, & Libertati, ſed ipſi præſertim Religioni (quæ omnes in acie quaſi *novaculæ* ſitæ erant) quam fieri potuit, maturè conſulere niſi eſt. Cæterùm ea ſe exeruit in hoſtibus noſtris fucandi aſtutia, vel ea potiùs in irato noſtro Patre ob ſequiorem longæ pacis uſum juſta ſeveritas, ut nondum nobis datum ſit (Supplicantibus licet aliquoties & Remonſtrantibus, quæ par erat animorum demiſſione & dictorum

dictorum veritate) Sacratissimam Domini Regis Majestatem e sceleratis eorum manibus vindicare, vel eis quæ jure debitæ sunt pœnas infligere: quin adhuc grassatur gladius, Anglorum saginatus carne, & sanguine inebriatus gladius.

Et nequid nostrarum forte miseriarum deesse cumulo videretur; haud ita pridem effecerunt, ut barbarus ille & truculentus in Hibernia perduellionum cœtus, non solum titulo *Subditorum Romano-catholicorum nunc in armis &c.* cohonestetur, sed & obtineat, (quum redacti essent ad incitas) Regiâ scilicet indulgentiâ, præter duodecim mensium induciis, potestatem quod nacti sunt retinendi, libertatem armorum cum pecunia aliunde procurandi, quin etiam ipsius Majestatem per se aut per nuntios adeundi; quo paratiores sint tum illic Protestantium reliquias exscindere, tum huc confluere (uti cœperunt) ad eandem inter nos carnificinam exercendam, sub qua tantopere fratres alibi gemuerunt.

Hæc fundi nostri calamitas est, hic status Reipublicæ. Ecam autem, in medio tot procellarum, ab Honoratissimis utriusque Domûs Parliamenti Senatoribus convocatam hanc Synodum, ad templum Domini suis consiliis instaurandum, tuendamque Religionis puritatem. Cui, pro Norma, Sacrum Canonem; &, post Dei gloriam, cum Ecclesiis optime reformatis conjunctissimam unionem, ac cultum in tribus hisce Regnis quam fieri potest uniformem, pro scopo esse voluerunt. Sed & erga nos misellos, dum huic negotio toti incumbimus, Serenissimi Regis animum irritarunt adversarii. Cæterùm erigente nos & adjuvante manu Christi, cujus hoc opus est, fundamentum qualecunque læti posuimus, effati Prophetici non immemores, *Quis tu, cui parvorum dies est despicatui?*

Ac hic tandem (Fratres, multis nominibus reverendi simul & diligendi) miserandam vobis rerum Anglicarum faciem, vel umbram potiùs, exhibuimus, (faciem enim quis depingat potis est?) Jura pene deperdita, bona direpta, domus exspoliatas, & effusum ubique sanguinem; ne nunc alia, licet charissima, memoremus. Si prosterni velit Deus, si procurari sub hostium pedibus nostra corpuscula, fiat, fiat voluntas Domini. Modò evenire possit, ut, quæ adhuc reliqua est

Christi

Christi Ecclesia à furoribus Antichristi cruore nostro redimeretur, quàm cum prodige, quàm libenter funderemus! Sed quod fidei Professionem ubicunque demum sint, quod universis Christi sanctis imminet periculum, illud, illud est quod nos angit unicè. Siquidem inesse novimus inimicis iram planè inextinguibilem, & quæ nequaquam nostro sanguine satiabitur: nec enim contra nos accenditur quà peccatores, sed quà veritatis pedissequi sumus & amatii puritatis, ad quam anhelamus indies. Quod si nos eis Deus in prædam semel tradiderit, O quàm horrendas statim tenebras subituri sunt, quam arcta vincula, quotquot Bestiæ Characterem repudiabunt in afflictis hisce ditionibus! Neque hîc tantùm, sed & alibi per Ecclesias in Europâ Reformatas idem proculdubio facinus aggredientur. In comperto vobis est, quanta *Bestia ascendenti ex Abysso*, quanta *Mulieri Martyrum inebriatæ sanguine*, ante fatalem ipsius exitum, adversus Chorum illum Virgineum Agni sequacem futura sit indignatio.

Quod ad Scotorum Gentem & Ecclesiam attinet: fuerunt quidem illi ad extinguendum hasce tam præter modum, præter naturam, ardentes flammas paratissimi. Post humillimas Supplicationes, Remonstrantias, & Declarationes, quibus Regiam Majestatem interpellarunt, se tandem mediatores obtulerunt pro pace fratribus conciliandâ. Postquam verò ista omnia fusque deque habita sunt, contraxere publicum fœdus cum Ecclesiâ & Gente Anglicanâ. Quin & pro salute utriusque Nationis, ac quam utraque profitetur Religionis à communi hoste impetitæ, próque custodiâ, quantum in eis situm est, nativi cum suis Regnis Monarchæ (prout legere est in eorum Declaratione nuper edita, inque trium Regnorum solenni Fœdere; per quæ sanè scripta sapientibus & erga Christum haud malè affectis, quid ei in animo sit, constare potest lucidissimè) ad arma confugere, & fraternis copiis suas adjungere statuerunt. *Nos etiam præterea, quoniam id magnum Angliæ Senatum expetiverat, Delegatos suos huc miserunt, quo melius eadem utriusque cultus forma promoveretur. Nobis autem (qui hæc legationis fungimur) vix ullum jucundius spectaculum, quam oculis nostris jactis cernere, non in re solum Fidei, sed in Ecclesiâ quoque legitimâ, Domus Dei fundamenta, per tam sapientum, eruditorum, plurimumque Theologorum Conventum vere Re-*

 verendum,

verendum. Ac proinde officii nostri esse duximus (præsertim post initum fœdus, quo nos ad id muneris obstrictissimos judicamus) unà cum illis, remotiores Christi Ecclesias de præsenti Anglorum conditione certas facere, ut in posterum quà erroribus, quà imposturis eatur obviam.

Quid jam superest? nisi ut, in isto rerum præcipitio ruinam nobis universalem minitante, Vos obsecremur (Fratres Charissimi) primò ut nostras omnium miserias, necnon æquam & summa junctam cum innocentia nostrimet defensionem velitis in æqua judicii lance trutinare. Si nobis ubique adversarii inurant rebellionis stigmata, dum Regem debito principatu spoliare, & anarchiam in Ecclesias inducere velle criminantur; nulli profectò dubitamus quin ab istis nos opprobriis (quibus nihil unquam falsius pater ille mendaciorum commentus est) quæ sanctè protestati sumus in nupero fœdere (cujus apographum una mittimus hisce cum literis vobis humiliter offerendum) abundè satis vindicabunt. Sin autem exorti quidam sint, filii Belial, qui adversus immerentes Dei vicarium irritaverint; si, abusi Regio nomine simul & potestate, id agant unicè, ut immunes ipsi sint a pœnis quibus dignos supremum Regni Tribunal judicasset, ut orbare possint alios libertatibus, privilegiis, vita, imò ipsa (quod caput omnium est) Religione; si, quæ nos arripuimus arma, non alio sumantur fine, quàm ut nostra nobiscum tueamur ab injusta violentia, (quod & vestrûm nonnullis aliquoties contigisse meritò credimus:) hæc si ita se habeant singula, judicet inter nos & illos qui mundi habenas moderatur justus Dominus, cujus perinde opem poscimus ac ista sincerè sint à nobis & veraciter allegata. Liceat interim, apud fratres, quos salutat hæc epistola, dilectissimos, innocentiæ nostræ testimonium, & in sacris eorum cœtibus, quandocunque opus fuerit, apologiam obtinere.

Dein vestram nobiscum (eadem in causa patientibus, ob quam ipsi dura olim, imò dira, sustinuistis) sympathiam postulamus. Esset enim laborantibus & dolentibus perquam magno refrigerio, si daretur inter irati Patris verbera fratrum viscera persentiscere; si, quæ Domino Jesu Christo in deliciis sunt, Ecclesiæ, memores quod & ipsæ in corpore, nos ut ejusdem Christi domesticos tam diligere quàm agnoscere dignarentur.

Denique vos obtestamur, Fratres, ut sicut Antichristi mancipia causam cui patrocinantur adversarii suam judicant, ac ei

proinde

proinde oleum pro virili impendunt & operam; ita & vobis cordi sit quam nos tuemur. Enimvero commune periculum est, nec post nostrum excidium licebit vobis salutem diutius exspectare; quippe hostibus non cum personis tanta lis, quanta cum pietate, cum verbo Dei, quæcunque demum Regio sit in quâ illam coruscare, hoc autem dominari sentiant. Modum quod spectat & media nobis opitulandi, id totum, quantum quantum sit, vobismet relictum omnino volumus. Unicum est quod neutiquam sane possumus non emendicare; nimirū preces quà publice, quà privatim, ut *Auditor precum Deus*, post confracta *carnis brachia* (quibus soliti sumus nimis, ah! nimis, inniti) ipse se nobis salutiferum exhibeat, ut tandem redeat cum Pace Veritas, ut fiat e tribus hisce Regnis *lignum unum in manu Domini*; nos autem viles operarii ob inquinamenta pristina pudore suffusi (quibus incumbit nihilominùs in tempestate luctuosa templi instaurandi labor) ut ipsi *figuram Domus integram* advertentes, Architectis nostris (qui Zerubbabelem referunt) id possimus exemplaris ob oculos ponere, quod sacris literis, quod optime constitutis Ecclesiis, quod in re cultûs & fidei cōmuni Britannorum concordiæ erit maximè consentaneū; porro ut *in planitiem erit omnis mons*, & qui nunc *in manibus nostris perpendiculum* intuentur, quum positum viderint *summum Lapidem*, quâ par est alacritate *Gratia, Gratia*, nobiscum acclament.

Hæc ea sunt de quibus vestras Reverentias, & per easdem omnes (quorum curam geritis) Christi fideles, a nobis edoceri, voluerunt Augusti hujus Regni Senatores: Quorum, ut etiam nostro ipsorum nomine, Vos per Christum salvere & valere ex animo precamur.

Westmonasterii
Jan. $\frac{19}{29}$ 1643.

Vestris Reverentiis
addictissimi in Christo Fratres,

Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ Delegati.

Metellan.
A. Jhonston.
Alexander Henderson.
Samuel Rutherfurd.
Robert Baylie.
George Gillespy.

Gulielmus Twissus *Prolocutor.*
Corn. Burges *Assessor.*
Joh. White *Assessor.*
Henricus Robrough *Scriba.*
Adoniram Byfield *Scriba.*

 Singulæ

Singulæ præcedentium literarum Inſcriptiones.

I.

Reverendis & doctiſſimis viris, Paſtoribus & Senioribus Claſſium & Eccleſiarum Provinciæ Zelandiæ, *Dominis & Fratribus honorandis.*

II.

Reverendis & doctiſſimis viris, Paſtoribus & Senioribus Claſſium & Eccleſiarum Provinciæ Hollandiæ, *Dominis & Fratribus honorandis.*

III.

Reverendis & doctiſſimis viris, Paſtoribus & Senioribus Claſſium & Eccleſiarum Orientalis Hollandiæ, *Dominis & Fratribus honorandis.*

IV.

Reverendis & doctiſſimis viris, Paſtoribus & Senioribus Claſſium & Eccleſiarum Provinciæ Geldriæ, *Dominis & Fratribus honorandis.*

V.

Reverendis & doctiſſimis viris, Paſtoribus & Senioribus Claſſium & Eccleſiarum Provinciæ Trans-Iſalanæ, *Dominis & Fratribus honorandis.*

VI.

Reverendis & Doctiſſimis viris, Paſtoribus & Senioribus Claſſium & Eccleſiarum Provinciæ Ultrajectinæ, *Dominis & Fratribus honorandis.*

VII.

Reverendis & doctiſſimis viris, Paſtoribus & Senioribus Claſſium & Eccleſiarum Provinciæ Friziæ, *Dominis & Fratribus honorandis.*

VIII.

Reverendis & doctiſſimis viris, Paſtoribus & Senioribus Claſſium

&

& Eccleſiarum Provinciæ & Civitatis Groningæ, *Dominis & Fratribus honorandis.*

IX.

Reverendis & doctiſſimis viris, Paſtoribus & Senioribus Eccleſiarum Reipublicæ Genevenſis, *Dominis & Fratribus honorandis.*

X.

Reverendis & doctiſſimis viris, Paſtoribus & Senioribus Eccleſiarum Bernenſium, *Dominis & Fratribus honorandis.*

XI.

Reverendis & doctiſſimis viris, Paſtoribus & Senioribus Eccleſiarum Tigurinarum, *Dominis & Fratribus honorandis.*

XII.

Reverendis & doctiſſimis viris, Paſtoribus & Senioribus Eccleſiarum Baſileenſium, *Dominis & Fratribus honorandis.*

XIII.

Reverendis & doctiſſimis viris, Paſtoribus & Senioribus Eccleſiarum Scafhuſiarum, *Dominis & Fratrbus honorandis.*

XIV.

Reverendis & doctiſſimis viris, Paſtoribus & Senioribus Eccleſiæ quæ eſt Lutetiæ Pariſiorum, *Dominis & Fratribus honorandis.*

XV.

Reverendis & doctiſſimis viris, Paſtoribus & Senioribus Claſſium & Eccleſiarum Haſſiæ, *Dominis & Fratribus honorandis.*

XVI.

Reverendis & doctiſſimis viris, Paſtoribus & Senioribus Claſſium & Eccleſiarum Anhaltinarum, *Dominis & Fratribus honorandis.*

XVII.

Reverendis & doctiſſimis viris, Paſtoribus & Senioribus Eccleſiarum Hanavenſium, *Dominis & Fratribus honorandis.*

FINIS.

Die Mercurii, 22 Novemb. 1643.

IT is this day Ordered by the Commons Houſe of Parliament, That the Aſſembly of Divines bee moved to write Letters unto ſome Divines or Churches of Zealand and Holland, and to the Proteſtant Churches in France, Switzerland, and other Reformed Churches, to informe them againſt the great Artifices and Diſguiſes of his Majeſties Agents in theſe parts, of the true ſtate of our affaires, and of the conſtant imployment of Iriſh Popiſh Rebels, and other Papiſts to bee Governours, Commanders and Souldiers, the many evidences of their intentions to introduce Popery, their indevour to hinder the Reformation here intended, and condemning other Proteſtant Churches, as unſound, becauſe not Prelaticall. And that the Scots Commiſſioners bee deſired to joyn therein: And likewiſe that the Committees of the Lords and Commons, and of the Divines may adviſe with the Scots Commiſſioners in the Premiſes.

H. Elſynge, Cler. Parl.D.Com.

Die Mercurii, 13 *Martii*, 1643.

IT is this day ordered by the Commons Houſe of Parliament, That the Letter from the Aſſembly of Divines to the Reformed Churches beyond Seas ſhall be printed in Latin and Engliſh, with the ſeverall Inſcriptions to the particular ſeverall Churches, and that Mr. *Selden* and Mr. *Rous* doe acquaint the Aſſembly with this Order.

H. Elſynge Cler. Parl.D.Com.

England: Divines, Assembly of
and Scotland, Commissioners of the Church
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A LETTER

From the

ASSEMBLY of DIVINES

IN

ENGLAND,

AND THE

Commissioners of the Church of

SCOTLAND,

Written, and

Sent by Order of the honorable House of Commons Assembled in Parliament, to the *Belgick, French, Helvetian*, and other *Reformed CHURCHES.*

Translated into *English*, and now published with the severall Inscriptions to those *Churches.*

By Order of the said House.

LONDON,
Printed by *Richard Cotes*, for *Ralph Smith*, and are to bee sold at his shop, at the signe of the Bible in *Cornhill*, neere the *Royall Exchange*, 1644.

A Letter from the Aſſembly of Divines in *England*, and the Commiſſioners of the Church of *Scotland*, to the *Belgick*, *French*, *Helvetian*, and other *Reformed Churches*.

Right Reverend and dearely belived in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt,

WEE the Aſſembly of Divines and others, called and conveened by the Authority of both Houſes of Parliament of *England*, with the Commiſſioners ſent from the Generall Aſſembly of the Church of *Scotland*, doe heartily ſalute you in the Lord. Wee doubt not but the ſad reports of the miſeries under which the Church and Kingdome of *England* do bleed, and wherewith wee are all ready to bee ſwallowed up, (the cup which the righteous Lord hath given us to drink) is long ſince come to your ears. And it is probable that the ſame inſtruments of Satan and Antichriſt, have indevoured by their emiſſaries to preſent us as black as may bee among your ſelves; who by falſehood and lyes indevour every where to put faire gloſſes upon their own bloody deſignes, and to reproach our ſtrugglings after a more thorow Reformation

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of Religion in the Church of *England*, according to the Word of God, and our juſt defence of our lives, liberties, and Religion, againſt their cruell and unjuſt violences. And wee ſometimes doubt whether wee have not been wanting to our own innocency and your ſatisfaction, in being thus long ſilent, from giving you a faithfull, though ſorrowfull, relation of the ſtate wherein wee ſtand. But pardon us *deare Brethren*, if this Cup of trembling, wherewith our ſpirits have been filled to amazement, and our wreſtlings with extreame difficulties ever ſince our meeting, have hindred us from that which wee long ſince knew to bee our duty. And give us leave now a little to eaſe our griefe, by powring our hearts into your boſomes, while wee relate the deſolation made by an Antichriſtian faction, who amongſt us have ſtill been hindring the work of Reformation, and withall introducing and cheriſhing of Popery; and are now arrived at that ſtrength, and have prevailed ſo farre againſt us, that if the Lord, whoſe judgments are unſearchable, and whoſe tender mercies are innumerable, doe not ſpeedily help us, wee ſhall even altogether bee laid waſte by them.

How great a hand this treacherous and bloody generation amongſt us, have long had in the miſeries of other Reformed Churches, in the deſtruction of the *Palatinate*, and in the betraying and loſſe of *Rochell*, and how, by ſeeming overtures of Ambaſſies and Treaties for their reliefe, they have fomented, continued, and encreaſed their calamities, are ſo fully known by you all, and miſerably felt by ſome of your ſelves, that we need not ſpeak any thing of them. And we ſuppoſe their inveterate hatred *againſt you all*, is ſufficiently manifeſted, in that multitudes of them have refuſed to acknowledge any of you for Churches of Chriſt, *becauſe you are not Prelaticall*, and thereby (as they conceive) want

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a lawfull Vocation of Miniſters. Sure wee are, that amongſt our ſelves in all theſe three Kingdomes, they have prevailed ſo farre in advancing Popery, and depreſsing Religion, that it would require a Volume, rather than a Letter, to relate all the particulars. Scarce one thing can bee thought upon, which may bee ſuppoſed to bee an argument of any intent to ſet up Popery, and even extirpate the true Reformed Religion, but wee could give you abundant inſtances, that they have not onely attempted, but in great meaſure prevailed for the putting thereof in execution. All the good and juſt Laws of this Kingdome againſt Papiſts, (concerning their lives, liberties, and goods) ſuſpended; Judges prohibited to proceed againſt condemned Prieſts; and even Jeſuites ſet free: Houſes of Superſtition in *Ireland* and *England* ſet up, and not diſcountenanced: (beſide the ſeldome or never queſtioned tranſportation of many young perſons to Seminaries in foraine parts) Notorious Papiſts, contrary to known Laws, permitted to come to Court, to reſide there, and enjoy the favour and preferment of it: Multitudes of them releaſed from legall Penalties for time paſt, and time to come; Proſecuters of them checked and diſcountenanced; Agents ſent from hence into *Italy*; Nuntioes and Agents from Rome received and treated with; ſuch as warped that way, cheriſhed and advanced; the moſt zealous Miniſters & Profeſſors of Religion bitterly perſecuted. And all theſe things ſo apparent, that abundance of Popiſhly affected Prelates and Miniſters adventured in every part of the Kingdome publickly to preach and leaven their people with almoſt all points of Popery, (except the Supremacy) and to introduce abundance of corrupt innovations in the worſhip of God, compelling the people to yeeld conformity to them, with perſecuting ſuch as would not. Inſomuch as many who looked at

Religion

Religion onely for outward advantage, found it beſt for their gaine and ſafety to turne Papiſts: And many godly Miniſters, who would not publiſh a book purpoſely ſet forth to allow ſuch ſports on the Lords day, which the Reformed Churches thinke unlawfull at any time; or who would not conforme themſelves to their other ſuperſtitions; have had their mouthes ſtopped, and many thouſands of their people with them compelled to ſeeke for refuge amongſt your ſelves, or in remote parts of the world.

Yea ſo farre they had advanced in their preſumption, as to impoſe upon the whole Kingdome of *Scotland* a new Popiſh book of Service, Rites, and Ceremonies; and a book of Canons: To which when the piety and zeale of that Nation would not ſubmit, they prevailed (alas) with his Majeſty to proclaime them Rebels and Traytors, & to raiſe a formidable army againſt them; to which *all the Papiſts*, & popiſhly affected did profeſſedly contribute their beſt aſſiſtance. And certainely had not the Lord by his bleſſing upon the *Scotiſh* Army, by the manifeſtation and acknowledgement of the wrongs done them, by the calling of this Parliament, and their godly care to cleare the Innocency of their Brethren, and by the Treaty of Peace concluded betwixt the two Kingdomes, prevented it, the two Nations long ſince through the treachery and rage of theſe brutiſh men, had beene embrewing their hands in each others bloud.

But though, through the goodneſſe of God and his bleſſing upon the publike Counſells and proceedings of both Nations of *England* and *Scotland*, they were more cloſely and mutually conjoyned; and the Lord had raiſed up ſuch a ſpirit throughout this whole Kingdom to mourne after the Lord, to lament our backſlidings, and to deſire a perfect Reformation; and had ſo inclined

the

the hearts of the Honorable Senators convened in Parliament, to repaire the houſe of the Lord among us, that wee verily hoped our winter to be paſt, and the time of our refreſhing and healing to be come: Yet alas we find it to be clean otherwiſe: Our God who before was a *moth* and *rottenneſſe*, is now turned unto a *Lyon* to us. Wee know our ſinnes have deſerved all; and if we all dye and periſh, yet the Lord is righteous, to his hand we ſubmit, and to him alone we deſire to look for healing: Howbeit the Inſtruments of theſe new miſeries are the ſame Antichriſtian faction, Who have beene ſo farre from being diſcouraged, or giving over their former deſigne by their want of ſucceſſe in *Scotland*, or in beholding the fixed reſolution of the Parliament here for Reformation, that their rage and diligence therein is more increaſed ſince the beginning of the Parliament, then at any time before. And indeed have more prevailed; both by ſtirring up a bloody Rebellion in *Ireland*, wherein (as the Papiſts themſelves boaſt) they have deſtroyed above a hundred thouſand Proteſtants in one Province, within a few moneths: And in *England*, by alienating the heart of his Majeſty from his Parliament, which had begun to call many of them to account for their former miſchiefes. And (after an attempt to ſurprize ſome Members of both Houſes in an hoſtile manner) prevailing with his Majeſty to withdraw himſelfe from the Parliament, and to raiſe an Army, which at firſt, pretended onely to bee made up of Proteſtants; but the Papiſts knew their intents, who both here and beyond the Seas, had frequent prayers for the good ſucceſſe of this great work intended in *England*, for the advancing of the Catholick Cauſe; And ſpared not in *England* to boaſt, that they were not to appeare untill many Proteſtants were ingaged ſo farre, that they might

not ſtart backe, and then they were to own it, which accordingly is come to paſſe: For when once many ſeeming Proteſtants were ingaged upon pretence of the Kings Prerogative, and Priviledges of Parliament, and Proteſtant Religion, (which Proteſtants yet for the moſt part were the ſame who before the beginning of theſe ſtirres had been by the publick Judicatory of the Kingdom, impeached of Treaſon, Oppreſſion, and other high crimes and miſdemeanors; and others who knew themſelves guilty thereof, and other corrupt parties of the Clergy and their adherents) preſently the Papiſts (who before were ſpared from all plunder and violence where ever the Kings Forces came, though many Proteſtants, who even held not for the Parliament, were rifled) were armed by Commiſſion from the King, and promiſe of repayment for their armes, if they were loſt; Many great Papiſts being put into places of Command in ſeverall parts of the Kingdom; and the body of all the Papiſts joyning with all their might, and profeſſing and exerciſing their Religion even by publike Maſſes in divers parts of the Realme: And thus aſſiſted with ammunition, Men, and Money, from other parts (deluded by their faire gloſſes and pretences) they goe up and down, plunder, and murder, and ſpoile all ſuch as adhere to the Parliament and cauſe of Religion.

And although, when the Parliament ſaw that theſe wicked inſtruments prevailed with the King, to raiſe force to be protected from the juſtice of the Laws (which the Parliament went about to inflict upon them for their former Treaſons and other high crimes) and to accompliſh their former deſignes, they endeavored to ſecure the Forts & Navy & provide meanes for the defence of themſelves, and of Laws, Liberties, and Religion (all which theſe men indevoured

devoured to destroy;) Yet such hath been their cunning, by false glosses to hide their own intention, and to seduce others, Or rather, such is the righteous judgement of our now angry God, for our abuse of our long peace that wee have not yet been able by Supplications, Petitions, and Remonstrances, to recover his Majesty out of their hands; or to bring these men to deserved punishments; but the sword rageth almost in every corner of this wofull land.

And, to make up our misery to the full, they have now at last prevailed with his Majesty so farre to own the bloody Rebels in *Ireland*, as not onely to call them his *Roman Catholick Subjects now in Arms, &c.* but even to grant them a Cessation for a yeare, (when they were brought into great extremity) and to hold what they have gotten, liberty to strengthen themselves, with Men, Money, Armes, Ammunition from any place, freedome to send or come to his Majesty; and thereby bee not only inabled to destroy the remnant of the Protestants there, but to come over hither, (as many of them are already) to act the same butcheries upon us, as they have hitherto exercised upon our miserable and distressed Brethren among themselves.

In these deplorable calamities are wee involved: and in the midst of these troublesome times, have the honorable Houses of Parliament called this Assembly, to give them our best Counsell for the Reformation of the Church, for the purging and preserving of Religion: and require us to make Gods Word onely our Rule; and to indevour the neerest conformity to the best Reformed Churches, and uniformity in all the Churches of the three Kingdomes. And in this work wee are now exercised, though the enemy hath stirred up the heare of our

deare and dread Soveraign againſt us alſo: Yet through the good hand of God upon us, wee have made ſome comfortable beginnings: The work is his, who commands us not to deſpiſe the day of ſmall things.

Thus (Reverend and Deare Brethren) wee have given you the face, or rather the ſhadow, (for what words are able to expreſſe the face?) of our miſerable condition in *England*: Our civill Liberties in danger to bee loſt, our goods ſpoiled, our houſes plundered, our blood poured out in every corner: (things though otherwiſe very precious to us wee omit to mention.) If our God wil lay our bodies as the ground, and as the duſt under their feet; the will of the Lord bee done: Might our blood bee a Sacrifice to ranſome the reſt of the Saints of Chriſt from antichriſtian fury, moſt gladly would wee offer it upon this ſervice. But that which breaks our hearts is, the danger wee behold the Proteſtant Religion, and all the Reformed Churches in at this time. Wee know their rage is inſatiable, and will not bee quenched with our blood: their fury is kindled againſt us, not as wee are ſinfull men, but as men ingaged in the defence of the true Religion, and panting after a right Reformation: And if once the Lord deliver us as a prey into their teeth, Oh the darkneſſe and horrour, the bondage, ſlavery and perſecution, which all who will not receive the mark of the beaſt, are like to bee wrapped in, in theſe three wofull Kingdomes! And not here only, but they are like to attempt the ſame in all the Reformed Churches in *Europe*. Your owne thoughts can eaſily ſuggeſt unto you, with what rage the beaſt which came out of the bottomleſſe pit, the Woman who hath thus long drunk the blood of the Saints is filled now before her utter deſtruction, againſt that Virgin Company that follow the Lamb.

The

The Church and Kingdome of *Scotland*, have been willing and ready by all good meanes to quench this unnaturall fire. They have ſent their humble Supplications, Remonſtrances, and Declarations to his Majeſty: And at laſt made offer of their humble Mediation, and Nationall interceſſion, for a Pacification. All which being refuſed and rejected, they have entered into a mutuall League and Covenant with the Church and Kingdome of *England*; and have reſolved to joyn in Arms with their Brethren for their aſſiſtance and deliverance, for the preſervation of their own Religion, & of themſelves from the mercileſſe cruelty of the common enemy, and (ſo farre as in them lyeth) for the ſafety of their Native King, and his Kingdoms from deſtruction and deſolation, (as is more largely expreſſed in their publick Declaration, and in the Solemne League and Covenant of the three Kingdomes, which will give full ſatisfaction to all the wiſe and well-affected concerning their intentions.) They have alſo, according to the deſire of the Honourable Houſes of Parliament, ſent us their Commiſſioners hither, for uniformity of Religion in the Churches of both Kingdoms. And wee (their Commiſſioners) do exceedingly rejoyce to behold the Foundation of the Houſe of God, not only in Doctrine, but Church-Government, laid before our eyes in a reverend Aſſembly of ſo wiſe, learned, and godly Divines. And find our ſelves bound in all Chriſtian duty, but eſpecially by the late Solemne League and Covenant of both Kingdomes, wherein wee are ſo deepely intereſſed and ingaged, to joyne in repreſenting to the Reformed Churches abroad, the true condition of affaires here, againſt all miſ-informations and miſtakings.

And now (deare Brethren) in this extreame danger

threatning us all, what are the things wee can begge of you? But that first you would judge aright of our afflicted condition, of our innocency and integrity in this our just defence. If our Enemies every where calumniate us, that we be risen up in Rebellion against our Soveraigne to deprive him of his just power and greatnesse, and endeavour to bring Anarchy and confusion into the Church of Christ; from these foule and false aspersions, our intentions fully and clearely set forth in our solemne League and Covenant (the copy whereof we here withall humbly present you) wee doubt not will sufficiently cleare us. But if these children of *Beliall* have unjustly stirred up our Soveraigne against us, and by abusing his Majesties name and Authority, are labouring to keepe themselves from deserved punishment of their former crimes, which the supreme Judicatories of the Kingdome went about to inflict upon them, and to deprive us of our lives, Liberties, Priviledges, and especially of our Religion; And that our defensive Arms are by us used and intended onely to preserve our selves from their unjust violence: (which hath often beene the condition of many of your selves) Let the righteous Lord judge between us and them, whom we implore to helpe us no further then we can plead these things in sincerity before him: And let our deare Brethren to whom these letters are addressed, acquit our Innocency in their hearts, and make their Apologie for us in all their Churches.

Secondly, that yee will sympathize with us as Brethren, who suffer in, and for the same cause, wherein your selves have beene oppressed, which will be no little refreshing to our mourning spirits, when we shall know that our God who smites us, yet inclines the hearts of his beloved Churches to looke upon us with compassionate bowells,

as

as judging us to be the ſervants of their owne God, and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and as remembring themſelves to be in the body.

Thirdly and laſtly, That as all the Antichriſtian faction ownes the cauſe of our Adverſaries as their owne, and contributes what lyes in their power every way to their helpe, and our ruine: So that you would imbrace our condition, as your owne common cauſe, wherein if we be once ſwallowed up, your ſelves are not like long to eſcape; the quarrell of the enemy being not ſo much againſt the perſons of men, as againſt the power of Godlineſſe, and Purity of Gods word wherever it is profeſſed. The way and manner of your owning us, we leave wholly to your ſelves: Except this one particular, which we muſt importunately crave, even your fervent prayers both publike and private. That God who heareth prayer, now he hath humbled us and broken all our Arms of Fleſh (whereon alas we have beene too prone to leane) would himſelfe bring ſalvation to us, that the bleſſings of truth and peace might reſt upon us, that theſe three Nations may be joyned as one ſtick in the hand of the Lord, and that we our ſelves, contemptible builders, called to repaire the Houſe of God in a troubleſome time, being aſhamed of our former pollutions, may ſee the patterne of this Houſe, and commend ſuch a platforme to our *Zorobabells*, as may be moſt agreeing to his own ſacred word, neareſt conformity to the beſt Reformed Churches, and greateſt uniformity amongſt our ſelves, that all mountains may become plains before them and us, that then all who now ſee the plummet in our hands, may alſo behold the Top ſtone ſet upon the head of the Lords houſe amongſt us, and may help us with ſhouting to cry, Grace, Grace unto it.

And

And thus much we have beene willed to Informe you of, *Reverend Brethren*, (and by you all faithfull Christians under your Charges,) by the Honourable House of Commons: In whose name and in our own we bid you heartily farewell *in the Lord*.

Your most affectionately devoted Brethren in Christ,

Jo. Maitland,
A. Johnston,
Alex. Henderson,
Sam. Rutherfurd,
Rob. Baillie.
Geo. Gillespie.
} Commissioners of the Church of *Scotland.*

William Twisse, Prolocutor,

Cornel. Burges, Assessor,
Jo. White, Assessor,

Henry Robrough, Scribe,
Adoniram Byfield, Scribe.

THE

THE Severall Inſcriptions to THE REFORMED CHVRCHES.

Zealand.

TO the Reverend and Learned Paſtors and Elders of the Claſſes and Churches of the Province of Zealand, *our much Honoured Brethren.*

Holland.

To the Reverend and learned Paſtors and Elders of the Claſſes, and Churches of the Province of Holland, *our much Honoured Brethren.*

Eaſt-Holland.

To the Reverend and learned Paſtors and Elders of the Claſſes and Churches of Eaſt-Holland, *our much Honoured Brethren.*

Gelderland.

To the Reverend and learned Paſtors and Elders of the Claſſes and Churches of the Province of Gelderland, *our much honoured Brethren.*

Over Yſell.

To the Reverend and learned Paſtors and Elders of the Claſſes and Churches of the Province of Over Yſell, *our much honoured Brethren.*

Utrecht.

To the Reverend and learned Paſtors and Elders of the Claſſes and Churches of the Province of Utrecht, *our much Honoured Brethren.*

Frizeland.

To the Reverend and learned Paſtors and Elders of the Claſſes and Churches of the Province of Frizeland, *our much honoured Brethren.*

Groningen.

To the Reverend and learned Paſtors and Elders of the Claſſes and Churches of the Province and City of Groningen, *our much honoured Brethren.*

Geneva.

To the Reverend and learned Paſtors and Elders of the Church in the City and Republick of Geneva, *our much honoured Brethren.*

Berne.

To the Reverend and learned Paſtors and Elders of the Churches of Berne, *our much honoured Brethren.*

Zurich.

To the Reverend and learned Paſtors and Elders of the Churches of Zurich, *our much honoured Brethren.*

Bazell.

To the Reverend and learned Paſtors and Elders of the Churches of Bazell, *our much honoured Brethren.*

Schafhauſen.

To the Reverend and learned Paſtors and Elders of the Churches of Schafhauſen, *our much honoured Brethren.*

Paris.

To the Reverend and learned Paſtors and Elders of the Church

Church which is at Paris, *our much honoured Brethren.*

Heſſen.

To the Reverend and learned Paſtors and Elders of the Claſſes and Churches of Heſſen, *our much honoured Brethren.*

Anhalt.

To the Reverend and learned Paſtors and Elders of the Claſſes and Churches of Anhalt, *our much honoured Brethren.*

Hanaw.

To the Reverend and learned Paſtors and Elders of the Churches of Hanaw, *our much honoured Brethren.*

FINIS.

FINIS.

A Briefe

RELATION

OF

The ſiege at Newark,

As it was delivered

To the *COVNCEL* of *STATE*

At *Derby-houſe*, by Lievtenant Col.

Bury, whom the Earl of *Mancheſter*

ſent to Report.

Together with Articles of Agreement betwixt

Prince *Rupert* and Sir *Iohn Meldrum*;

Wherein the perfidious dealings of the Enemy

i made manifeſt; who, contrary to the Articles, took

away their Colours, Swords and Pikes,

and Plundred the Officers.

LONDON,

Printed for *Peter Cole*, March 26. 1644.

A Brief

RELATION

OF

The Siege at Newark.

As it was delivered

To the COVNCEL of STATE

At Derby-house, by Lieutenant C. L.

Bay, whom the Earl of Manchester

sent to Report.

Together with Articles of Agreement [illegible]

Prince Rupert and Sir John Stahlhaus,

Wherein the perfidious deuings of the Enemy

made manifest, who contrary to the Articles

away their Colours, Swords and Pikes,

and Plundred the Officers.

LONDON,

Printed for Fran. Cole, March 16. 1646.

A Briefe

RELATION

of the Siege at

NEVVARK.

Whereas it hath beene Printed that the Newarkers forced Sir John Meldrums *Regiment to retreat, and that the Lord* Willowbie *came with his Regiment to their timely releefe, there was nothing done that could colour that Relation.*

WHen we first drew before *Newarke*, Colonell *Kings* Regiment marched to the Counteſſe of *Exceſters* houſe, where a part of the Regiment had a ſharp conflict, and after they had gained that place, the enemies horſe gave them a hot & deſperate charge, notwithſtanding they remained Maſters of the place: after this Serjeant Major *Iohn Lilburne* deſired Sir *Iohn Meldrum* to ſend him with a partee into the Iſland, which Sir *Iohn* waved, judging it a deſpereate ſervice, but at laſt the importunitie of the Major, and the reſolution of the Souldiers prevailed: aſſoone as a ſmall party of them were over the water, the Enemie drew forth their horſe into the Iſland: and we haſted over the greateſt part of Colonell *Kings* Regi-

ment, and two Troopes of Horſes; the Enemie perceiving our Forces to draw themſelves betweene them and the Town, never charged, but haſted over *Muſcom* Bridge, we followed on, and beate the Enemie from the Fort, which commanded that paſſage, and poſſeſſed our ſelves of it; in view a conſiderable Force comming to their reliefe: then we intrenched our ſelves in the ſpittle, and made our approaches; the Enemie ſallied out and fell into our Trenches, the point being deſerted by Capt. *Caudron*, but Ca. *Cambridge* (who had done bravely in managing of *Muſcom* Bridge) enforced their ſudden retreat. When part of Sir *Michael Hubbard* Regiment were marching off the guard toward their Quarters at *Balderton*, the Enemie ſallied forth with nigh 100. horſe, finding them without light Matches fell upon them, tooke their Colours, and carried them priſoners into *Newarke*; two of the Lord *Willoughbies* Troopes, aſſigned for that Guard, looked on, but never offered to ingage.

After this, theſe *Newark* Horſe ſallied into the Iſland; the relator drew forth his own, and another Company of that Regiment, and tooke with him the Lord *Willoughby* his Regiment of Foot, and advanced into the Iſland; he commanded 20. Musquetiers out of his own companies, and deſired a proportion of the Lord *Willoughbies* to line the Hedges, ſo to prevent the enemies returne over the Bridge, although hee earneſtly importuned them, promiſing they ſhould go no further then himſelf, he could not obtain one man. When Sir *Iohn Meldrum* had Intelligence that the Horſe which were driven from *Newarke* over *Muſcome* Bridge, and thoſe which came to the releif, pillaged and plundred *Leiceſterſhire*, he ſent away all the Horſe and Dragoones which could be ſpared, under

der the Command of Sir *Edward Hartrop*, who comming nigh the Enemies Quarters, ſent in a forlorne hope of above 100. who fell in among them before they had an Alarm; and drave them forth, crying, Horſe and away, we are all cut off: the forlorne hope tooke divers priſoners in the chaſe, one of which was a Major, who was left behind at *Melton Moberrie*. The Captaines of Horſe ſeeing the Enemie in a confuſion, deſired Sir *Iohn Hartrop* to let them fall on; who anſwered them, his Commiſſion was not to fight, but upon apparent advantage, although they conceived this to be ſo, and the Souldiers crying, March, march, on, on, they could not get leave to engage; but upon Tueſday in the night returned toward *Newarke*, valiant Capt. *Buff*, with his brave Dragoones, whom Sir *Iohn* had commanded to ſecure a paſſe, were left to the enemies mercy, or to ſhift for themſelves. In this Retreate the Lord *Willoughbies* Horſes drew up, ſounded a charge, and Captain St. *George*, bid Captain *Lilburn* draw up his Horſe & fight, for the Lord *Willoughby* ſhould not be affronted by Coll. *King*: but the Capt. and other Gentlemen moderated that fury, and prevented the miſchiefe. What reaſon may be rendred that the Lord *Grey* his Horſes left Sir *Iohn Hartrop* & returned to *Leiceſter*, the Relator knowes not. On Wedneſday noone Sir *Iohn Meldrum* with his Councell of War, reſolved to ſend forth theſe Horſe and Dragoones againe, and would have conferred that Command upon Colonell *Rocheſter*, who modeſtly deſiring to be excuſed, it was confirmed upon Colonell *Thorney*, but before they could march, came certaine Intelligence that Prince *Rupert* was joyned with Sir *Charles Lucas*, which made that partee 8000. ſtrong, and that they were to quarter that night 8. miles from *Newarke*.

arke. Sir *John Meldrum* was moved by Sir *Michael Hubbard* and others in the Councell of War to retreate to *Lincoln*, but he resolved to draw all his foote into the Counteſſe of *Exceſters* houſe, and to ſend his horſe over *Muſcom* Bridge to bring in Proviſion. (It was demanded where the L. *Willoughby* was, the relator anſwered, he heard not of him after Wedneſday, it ſeems about that time the Lord *Willoughbie* rode to *Gainsbrough*.) The Enemie drew through *Balderton* in the morning, our horſe drew up upon *Beken* hill, whence they might have diſcerned and engaged upon advantage, but Sir *John Meldrum* ordered them not to fight till they came within the reach of our Ordinance.

Then as ſoon as our horſes quitted the hill, the Enemy advanced thither, our horſes ſtanding in the valley nigh the Spittle facing the Enemy; as they were ready to cloſe, Sir *John* commands off the Derby-horſe, to guard the 200 Pyoneers and 400 Muſqueriers, which Sir *John* then ſent into the Iſland to make a Fort-Royall. The Enemy having drawn up two bodies of horſe againſt our two bodies, Colonell *Roceſter* led on the left diviſion, wherein were the 21 Captain *Lilburns*, Captain *Bethel* and Captain *Hunt*, &c. who fiercely charged the right wing of the Enemy, led by Prince *Rupert*, routed them, and drove them up the hill to their reſerve; but our right wing of horſe ran away, and would have preſſed in upon our own foot, had they not ſtood upon their guard. This Relator (after much intreaty, and many promiſes that they ſhould not ingage nor advance beyond the command of our Muſquets) prevailed with them, to rally and face the Enemy, ſo that Colonell *Roceſter* made a ſafe and orderly retreat, and according to Sir *John Meldrums* order, drew all the horſe, except 500. over the bridge, into the Iſland.

In

In this conflict, the Noble valiant Colonell *Thorney* was ſhot in the belly, which is feared, will be his deaths wound: Captain *Moody*, and Captain Lieutenant *Lilburn*, were taken priſoners, amongſt others we took a great commander of theirs, who being much wounded were ſent into *Newark*, then the Enemie drew down halfe their horſe, and the greateſt part of their foot to force that Bridge, which was gallantly maintained by Colonel *Kings* company, and two or 3. of Yorkſhire companies, although hotly aſſaulted by the Welch Regiment, they were forced to retreat with much loſſe; all this time our Cannon plaied upon their Horſe, the Maſter Gunner with the great Piece did excellent execution: the enemies expectation of the Bridge being fruſtrate, they drew out the *Newark* foot with a conſiderable ſtrength of Horſe, not giving Sir *Iohn* time to raiſe his fort Royall, poſſeſſed themſelves of the Iland, and intrenched themſelves there, to cut off our proviſion. The three companies of Colonell *Kings*, and the three *Nottingham* companies in the night, (Sir *Iohn* not knowing thereof) quitted the Forte, and paſſed over *Muſcom* Bridge, brake up the Bridge, and ſo ſecured themſelves, and our horſes on that ſide, and taken *Nottingham* Colours & nigh 20. Muſquetiers, as Col. *Ayres*, upon his reputation reported: the counſel of war reſolved that we ſhould retreat that night over *Muſcom* bridge, not imagining, that our gard there would have given us the ſlip, before the Enemie came to charge them. But perceiving the Enemie paſſing over their foot into the other ſide of the Iland nigh Melthrop, and Norfolke Red-coats mutining, Sir *Iohn* ſent to the prince for a parley, which being accepted, Sir *Michael Hubbard*, and Sir *Iohn Paygrave* Colonels, about nine of the in the clocke at night went to treat, and by ſeven in the

morning

morning brought the Articles which the Enemie had granted, to have Sir *Iohns* assent, and at ten of the clocke returned with the Princes Commissioners, for the Prince to signe.

I. That we should leave all our Artillery, and Ammunition, and Fire-armes.

II. That all our foot Souldiers should march away with their Swords, Pikes and Colours.

III. That all our Horse-men and Dragoones should march away with their Horses, Swords and Colours.

IV. That all Officers and their Servants should march away with their Horses, Swords, pistolls, moneyes, bagge and baggage.

V. That we should have convoy for our safe conduct, two miles beyond the Princes out-most Quarters.

By twelve of the clock the Foote marching forth according to agreement, the enemie contrary to the Articles, tooke away their Colours, swords, and Pikes, fell to plunder the Officers, the relater repairing to the Convoy for security, meeting greatest part of them galloping to plunder, and came away, holding it safer to trust in God, then put confidence in Princes.

Postscript.

THe reporter Iudgeth the Enemy, being ioyned with the Newarkers, to be nigh 3000. *Foot, and Dragoones, and* 4000. *Horse, without Artillery, and that we have lost two Morter Peeces, one Demy Cannon, one Sacre, seven or eight Drakes, Armes for* 3000. *and much Ammunition.*

Printed according to Order.

Mercurius Veridicus. Num. 9. Mar. 26.

OR, THE

TRVE INTELLIGENCER:

Communicating such Intelligence (which he conceives to be the plain truth) without Faction or Affection.

From Tuesday *the* 19. *of* March, *to the* 26. *of the same.* 1644.

Wherein is contained these Particulars;

1. *The Message of the States of* Holland *to the* Parliament *concerning Peace, and the* Parliaments *answer thereunto.*
2. *A sad Relation of the raising of the Siedge of* Newark *by Prince* Rupert, *and some other Passages which happened there.*
3. *The brave exploits of Collonel* Massey *at* Barkley Castle, *and since at the Forrest of* Deane.
4. *A notorious Robbery committed by some Swordmen at the Lady* Bullocks *House, on* Clearkenwell Green.
5. *Some Velitation of Armes betwixt Sir* Edward Hartoppe *and the Lord* Greys *Regiment on the Parliaments side, and the Lord* Loughborough *and Sir* Charles Lucas *on the Kings.*
6. *The inhumane usage of some of the Lord* Capels *Forces to some wounded men on the Parliaments side, who had yeilded to their mercy.*
7. *An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, for the bringing of Coles and Salt from* Sunderland.
8. *A report of the bringing of the Ammunition from* Warwick *to* Gloucester, *in Prince* Ruperts *absence.*
9. *The marching of the* Scots *after the Enemy into the Bishoprick of* Durham.

Published according to Order.

LONDON,
Printed by *Bernard Alsop*, 1644.

Mercurius Veridicus.

MERCURIUS

VERIDICUS:

Communicating true Intelligence to the whole Kingdome without faction or affection.

From *Tuesday* the 19. of *March*, to *Tuesday* 26. of the same.

1644.

Such is the unhappy condition of this age, that with uncontrouled liberty we will obstinately follow our own inclinations, whereſoever they doe lead us. Some will have peace at any hand, though with the losse of truth and liberty. Others desire a perſevering warre, neither is any newes welcome to them but what (though ſometimes falſely) is cryed up with victory. For my own part I had rather pleaſe my ſelfe with the truth then deliver unto you pleaſing uncertainties, being careful to give you ſuch juſt intelligence as becomes an impartiall Reader to peruſe, and an ingenious writer to rehearſe.

We will begin this weeks Occurrences with what fell out moſt remarkable in the beginning of the week, and therefore (according to the method) moſt ſuitable for this place, which

was the intercepting of severall Proclamations and Letters from Oxford, which were discovered in a Barge comming from Henley upon Thames, they were seized on by some designed for that purpose by the Parliament at the new block Houses near Westminster. The Barge leaking (as all Ships and Vessels that ply the Sea or Navigable Rivers are said to be of the Feminine Gender) it gave just occasion to the Searchers to examine it. There were found in it some Packets full of Malignant Pamphlets, as two hundred and fifty of *Mercurius Aulicus*. There was found also a Proclamation that all forraigne Coyne during the Warre, shall passe within the Kingdome at the same rate as it was coyned for in other Countries. Peradventure the Lord *Goring* hath provided money as well as Armes for the Oxford party. And the Plate Fleet being lately returned from the West Indies unto Spain, it is thought that the Lord *Cottington* and the Earl of Bristoll have so much interest in that Country, that their faction will not fall as long as Spain is able to recrute it. Another Proclamation then seized on, was to prohibite the taking of Customes for all such Merchandise as should be brought into Ireland.

There was also a Book taken at that present, intituled; *The Iniquity of the League and Covenant*. But by the taking of these Bookes, and some other Letters with them, the iniquity of agents betwixt London and Oxford is discovered, who under hand for a long time have vented abroad these dangerous books, to the prejudice of the Parliament, and the seducing of many ignorant mindes; and it is believed, that some course will be taken, to prevent the like inconveniences hereafter.

From Newark wee have intelligence (though the newes have been before delivered, wee have it now more certainly related) that by accident some part of Colonell *Kings* Regiment being upon duty neare the entrance of the town, their matches being unlighted, that with more secrecy they might

remain

remain untill a greater ſtrength which was expected did come unto them. The enemy ſuddenly iſſued out with a party of horſe, and invironed thoſe foot, and with their horſe they forced them into the towne where ſtill they continue priſoners, the number is ſaid to be about two hundred. VVee are alſo informed that by the induſtry of the ſouldiers, they have turned the river of Trent from the towne, ſo that they have now beſieged it round, ſo that unleſſe that ſome releiſe arrive which will very hardly be done, the town cannot long hold out the ſiege, for the enemies forces are already ſo ingaged, that they hardly can adventure to releive it.

The States of Holland have now preſented their letters to the Parliament (after the uſuall manner directed to the Speaker) It was tranſlated out of French into Engliſh, and the contents being good, it was well accepted by the Houſes. The effect of them was this, that the States of Holland weighing and conſidering the great diſtractions of theſe Kingdoms, and the profuſe expence of blood that already had been ſhed, and ſtill likely to continue, if not by ſome happy means prevented, they acknowledged themſelves ſo ingaged to this Kingdome, that they could not be disjoyned from the ſence of the common calamity. They deſired therefore to mediate between his Majeſty and his Parliament, and had treated with his Majeſty to that purpoſe, to which they found him not averſe. To this at the conference it was agreed by way of anſwer: That as the two Kingdomes of England and Scotland were now united, ſo it ſhould be accordingly referred to a Committee of both Kingdomes to conſider of it.

The common report amongſt the Malignants is, that Colonell *Maſſey* is ſtill in ſome ſtreits, but we can aſſure you that he is not ſo ſtreightned, but that he hath been lately at Barkeley Caſtle, which is above twelve miles from Gloſter, and there ſurpriſed a troop of horſe come out of Ireland, and returned ſafe to Gloſter, five trumpets ſounding before him.

The liberty of some souldiers in and about the city of London, is growne into excesse. And indeed there are many counterfeits about this city, who assuming to themselves the habit and name of souldiers, are ready to commit any outrage whatsoever. On friday morning very early, about two of the clock after midnight, there came some fifteen or sixteen of those robbers unto the house of the Lady *Bullock* on *Clarken-well-green*, and having first set a strong guard on the Constables doore that he should not come forth, and secured all places from whence they thought any help might come, they brake open the doore, and dangerously wounded a servant of hers, who according to his obligation fought very resolutely for the defence of his Ladies person and her goods, but hee being disabled from making any further resistance, they forced the chamber doore where the Lady lay, and violently pulld from her fingers five rich rings, took fifty peeces of gold, and some other moveables of considerable valew. The next neighbour to this Lady was the Reverend Doctor *Sibbald* Minister of *Clarken-well*, who being awaked with the noise which these spoylers made, did gently (according to his custome) reprove them for their outrage, but they were so inexorable to his words, that their spleen increasing their cruelty, they made two or three desperate shots at his window, but by the providence and mercy of God he escaped the danger. This being done, they escaped away taking their pillage, but (as since we are informed) nine of them are taken, and no doubt will suffer according to their demerit.

We have now certaine intelligence from Scotland, that there hath been some skirmishes between the Scots and them at Corbridge: Generall *Lesly* and the Marquesse of Newcastle have faced one another for almost two dayes, in which time there fell such stormes of snow and hayle, that it was terrible to horse and man.

It is reported that 800. of the Marquesse of Newcastles

horses

horſes periſhed through the hardneſſe of the weather. There were not in the fight above 40 ſlain on both ſides. It is ſtrange that the Marques ſhould face the Scots on even ground, and refuſe to do it, when he had the advantage of their paſſing over the River. Time, when by reaſon of the Flouds there was no poſsibility for their foot to march over, but at a narrow bridg near Ebcheſter, where halfe of their foot were inforced to march over the bridge by ſingle files, and the other half were inforced to ſtay on the other ſide till the next day, ſo that being 15000 ſtrong (as we hear he is) if he then had charged them, he might have taken them at a great advantage, ſince which time (we are informed) that Generall *Lesley* ſent out a party to draw him into battell, but the Marques of Newcaſtle had no mind to ingage himſelf, deſiring rather to hinder their advance, then incounter with the Enemy.

There is an Ordinance from the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, wherein they have repealed a former Ordinance forbidding any Ships to traffick unto Sunderland or Blythe, for Coals, Glaſſe, &c. giving full leave and authority to any Merchant, to traffick with corn from hence or any other parts, and to bring back Seacoal, Glaſſe, or any other commodity, from Sunderland or Blythe.

Sir *Charles Lucas* and the Lord of Loughborough, having united their Forces together, Sir *John Meldrum* commanded Sir *Edward Hartoppe* to incounter with them, with a party of horſe from the Siedge of Newark, fearing that the Enemy ſhould fall upon the garriſon of Leiceſter, which was then but in a weak condition, they came to Loughborough and were aſſiſted with the Lord *Grayes* Regiment, where diſcharging a great Peece upon the Enemy, which did great execution amongſt them, they forced them to retreat, and by that meanes gained the Bridge which was halfa mile in length. The Enemy after this, drew into a great Medow and divided into five Bodies, and without any blow onely faced our men till night,

at

at which time they retreated, and Sir *Edward Hartop* having intelligence, that *Prince Rupert* was not far off, accompanied with two thousand horse and as many foot: Sir *Edward* retreated towards Newark, and the Lord *Gray* towards Leicester, which now continueth in a good condition.

The taking of a Castle by a part of the Lord *Capels* forces, which lyes between Shropshire and Herefordshire, I beleive is already sufficiently knowne, I should therefore forbeare to insere it, did not the cruelty there shewed make the besiegers odious to all posterity, for the defendants having yeelded up the Castle upon condition to have faire quarter, the enemy was no sooner entred, but he used them inhumanely, and finding amongst the dead some deeply and desperately wounded, yet not bereft of breath, they caused a deep pit to be digged, and throwing them all in together, they buried some alive.

VVe told you not many lines before in what good condition the town of Newark was, we are since informed that Prince *Rupert* strengthened with the additionall supplyes of the Lord *Loughbourowes*, and Sir *Charles Lucas* forces, hath advanced before Newark and raised the siege, there was some incounter betwixt the Parliament forces and his, wherein the Earle of Manchesters foot shewed not that courage and resolution as was expected, there were taken some peeces of Ordnance, and divers Arms, the first charge from Prince *Rupert* was very violent.

The enemy was much stronger then was reported, and it hath pleased God for our humiliation to give them there the better of us, yet ought we not to be discouraged, Victory flyes on uncertaine wings, and on that side to which it stooped not to day, it may please God, it may alight to on the morrow. The Scots we understand with a considerable strength are marched after the enemy to Durham, we doe not heare of any Action they yet have done there, but we hope we shall suddenly be able to inform you with it.

There is a report about the town, and they say there are letters come to avouch it, that the Ammunition designed for Gloucester in the absence of Prince *Rupert* is safely arrived, for my owne part I should be very glad to heare the report confirmed unto a truth.

Finis

K. pp. London (27) 10

Numb 2.

Britaines Remembrancer:

Of the most remarkable Passages in both

KINGDOMES.

From Tuesday the 19. of Mar. to Tuesday the 26. of Mar. 1644.

I Begin the last weeke with the little Bishop, and so shall continue, as long as he lasts.

His triall hath spun out much time, the reason is to leave him inexcusable, least he should say he was straitned in time, or had not liberty to make his full defence.

Amongst other particulars of other charges proved against him, one was, that he caused the Lord *Chiefe Justice Richardson* to be debarred from riding his usuall Circuit in the West, because his Lordship did publish an Order at the open Assises in the West-Countrey, against *Wakes*, and *Ales*, and *Pastimes* on the *Sabbath*, and other dayes, which they kept as Festivalls, in a superstitious manner, and which were presented by the Grand Jury for a great dishonour to God, and scandall to Religion.

The Archbishop for his defence said; That it was true, he writ his Letters to the Bishop of *Bath* concerning that businesse, and that the thing was *lawfull*, but that it was abused, and that his Majestie commanded him to write those *Wakes* should not be suppressed.

What wickednesse usually attends those Pastimes, those that are of that Country can witnesse.

The digression is small, to tell you of my Lord Chiefe Justice *Richardsons* complaint to the Earle of *Dorset*, that he was like to be choaked with a paire of *Lawne sleeves*. Surely this was the businesse.

Another Charge against him was for causing divers inhabitants in Beckington in Somersetshire, to be sentenced in the high Commission (forcing others to flie into America) for desiring their Minister not to raise the ground, and set the Table Altarwise, threatning to lay those by the heeles that spake on their behalfe.

Nay, Maſter *Morgan*, the Lord *Finches* Favourite, ſaid there was a Biſhops hand in the buſineſſe, he durſt not ſpeake.

The Biſhpos Anſwer to this, and ſo in generall to all Charges of this nature, was; That he never gave directions to any man to erect any Altar, or Table Altarwiſe, and there to require them to Adminiſter the Sacrament at the Table ſet Altarwayes: (Beleeve him that will.)

None were puniſhed by his *Little Grace*, that did receive the Sacrament at the Altar; but they were ſure to be puniſhed, if not baniſhed by him, that would not come up to the Raile to receive it. And when the Recorder of Colcheſter, permitted Parſon *Newcomen*, to be indicted for compelling his Pariſhioners to come to the Raiſes to receive. The Recorder, and Jury were ſent for to his Little-Grace, and had in the high Commiſſion, and forced to flie the Kingdome. The Biſhop telling the Recorder, he might have put up the Indictment in his pocket; but ſeeing he was ſo bold to meddle with the Church in his Court, the Church would talke with him in their Court.

Another proofe was, that when a Fine in the high Commiſſion was extorted into the Exchequer, and the Party fined there bailed by the Court, my Lord of Canterburies Gentlemen came from his Grace, to Baron *Trever*, and told him, he ſhould anſwer the bailing of that man, as Baron *Trever* teſtified: ſo the very Judges of the Law were made vaſſals to the Biſhop.

And *Ingram*, Deputy Warden of the Fleet, durſt not for feare of the Biſhop obey the Order of the Court.

It was further proved, that a Churchwarden, for not blotting out a ſentence of Scripture on the Church wall; *viz. My houſe is made a den of theeves:* was excommunicated, and when the Churchwarden commenced a ſuit in Starchamber in the Kings name, Sir *John Bankes* was handſomely chid by the Biſhop for ſuffering of it.

The excuſe the Biſhop made to that, was, That this ſentence was writ on the Church wall, over the place where the Surrogates and Eccleſiaſticall Officers met, which he conceives was done in applying it to them.

His Little Grace would have a finger in every Pye, for as it was punctually proved; The very Reader of the Innes of Court, muſt not diſpute the Law, if the Caſe he propounds concerned the Church; which he made good, by ſilencing Maſter *Bagſhaw* of the middle Temple, for reading on the Statute concerning the Power of the Clergie, making this *Quare* in the Caſe, *Whether Parliaments might be held without Biſhops.* The Reader of the Common Law, being thus, againſt all example, ſilenced by a

Biſhop,

Biſhop, attended his Grace, that he might go on with his reading, but he told him he ſhould anſwer it in the High Commiſſion: but within ſix weeks after a Parliament was reſolved on to be called, and Mr. Bagſhaw under the Biſhops noſe choſen a Burgeſſe in Southwark to ſerve in Parliament.

A queſtion being propounded, whether the rents due to the Univerſity of Oxford, and the Colledges there, ſhould be duly paid as hitherto they have been, whereby the Enemy is ſupplyed with great ſummes of money: It was 21 Martii reſolved, and ſo ordered accordingly, "That no rents due to "the Univerſity of Oxford, or to any Colledge there, ſhould "for the future be paid, till the Parliament gave further or-"der. And that all Tenants that have or hereafter ſhall have "any rents due as aforeſaid, be required to detaine the ſame "in their hands.

This Order hath no reference to the Univerſity of Cambridge, except to ſuch fellowes of Colledges, who have deſerted the Univerſity and gone to the Enemy; the proportion of ſuch mens allowances are to goe to the ſervice of the Commonwealth.

And whoſoever ſhall hereafter returne any Colledge rent to Oxford, till it be reduced in obedience to the Parliament, are to be queſtioned, though it be from the three Kings.

The Ordnance for reviving the trade of Coales from Sunderland and Blith is paſt both Houſes, whereby ſhips are at liberty to go, notwithſtanding the former Order of reſtraint; but ſuch as doe goe on thoſe Voyages, are to carry with them Corne, Beere, Butter, Cheeſe, and ſuch like proviſions for the furniſhing the Scottiſh Army, who are in ſome neceſſity, by reaſon the Enemy hath driven away all Cattell, Sheepe, and waſted and conſumed the Corne; and not left the Inhabitants in many parts of Northumberland and Durham Corne to ſow their ſeed withall, which muſt of neceſſity bring a famine in thoſe parts next yeare.

The Parliament hath in debate a Declaration to be publiſhed to the Kingdome, to Undeceive the people, from the faire pretences of peace at Oxford, who endeavour under the mask and title thereof, to make our unhappy diſtractions and miſeries more laſting, and the warre more irreconcilcable, being tempted by thoſe Specious Pretences to acknowledge the Diſſolution of this Parliament; by admitting them at Oxford an equall title with this Parliament, as his Majeſtie gives them.

What aſſurance can we have, either of our preſent or future liberty, then the Lawes and Statutes of this Kingdome? And what greater Obligation can we expect for obſervance thereof then his Majeſties Perſonall Conſent to the Law, and his ſacred and Solemne Oath, to obſerve the Law. And if the King may at pleaſure diſſolve this Parliament, the kingdome is not onely deprived for the preſent, but for the future of all Parliaments any longer then ſhall ſtand with the Will and Pleaſure of the King, and conſequently the Lawes of the Land thereby ſubverted.

That his Majeſtie acknowledgeth the meeting at Oxford a Parliament, may be obſerved by what followeth.

1 His Majeſtie admits them at Oxford to call themſelves the Lords and Commons of Parliament aſſembled at Oxford, and ſtiles them ſo himſelfe.

2 They call themſelves diſtinctly, the Houſe of Peeres and the Houſe of Commons.

3 Edward Lord Littleton, Cuſtos Sigilli, writes himſelf the Speaker of the Houſe of Peeres; for what paſſeth that Houſe is ſubſcribed only with his name.

4 What paſſes the Houſe of Commons, is ſubſcribed (as repreſenting their body) by Serjeant Evers.

5 What paſſeth both Houſes joyntly, is ſubſcribed by the ſaid parties, and ſigned by his Majeſtie on the top; ſo thereby you ſee the three Eſtates conjoyned.

6 This appeares by the Privie-Seales, or instruments of the pretended Parliament at Oxford, for raising of 100000. li. wherein observe their levying of monies on the subject in an Arbitrary way (being done by the three Estates by way of Lone) and yet would have the kingdome esteeme them as a Parliament.

7 They assume to themselves the only Parliamentary power of England, by voting this Parliament assembled at Westminster Traytors, for raising forces under the Earle of Essex to defend themselves: wherein (if it were true) they vote many of themselves to be Traytors: for diverse of them now at Oxford, not only condiscendod to that Vote, but subscribed for the bringing in of Horses, Money, or Plate, viz. Sir George Stonehouse, Mr. Fettiplace, Sir Edward Littleton, and diverse others.

It may not be omitted, to remember you of some of the pretended Parliament at Oxford, whom his Majesty by Proclamation in print hath proclaimed guilty of a High Crime, yet he admits them to sit in his Pretended Parliament, viz. Harry of Yarmouth, Lord Digby, and Mr. Peircy. Who likewise were so conscious to themselves of guilt, that they fled into another kingdome. One in such haste, that he rid post in Spanish leather-Boots, another in the habit of a Shepheard, the third by his Majesties Warrant, though proclaimed guilty by his Majestie, avowed by Sir John Pennington, then Vice-Admirall to his Majesty: and now a Pirat at Sea.

A man of as much valour as the Earle of Marlebotough, who will never fight but upon great oddes: and yet refused oddes when Captaine Jordaine challenged him to fight with him under the Cape, neer St. Mallowes, though his Lordship was three to one, and stood looking on while Captaine Jordaine took prizes from the Earle worth 25000 pound, under his conduct.

Letters wre this weeke intercepted, written from the supreame Councell of the confederate Catholiques in Ireland, (that is to say) from the infamous, and barbarous Rebells of

Ireland, to the Prince d' Harecourt, and other perſonages of honour in France.

The Letters bore date at Kilkenny the 28. of Febr. laſt.

The Party about whom they were taken was Sieur d' Virgier.

The Paſſe found about this Meſſenger was ſigned by his Majeſtie.

The Contents of the Letter was to this purpoſe: That if their Government did continue, and that their Commiſſioners did not ſpeedily conclude a Peace, that they will give licence for the tranſporting two thouſand foot, with their Officers, in June next, for the ſervice of the moſt Chriſtian King, and three thouſand more afterwards, according to the Propoſitions.

Theſe men (under pretence of going for France) perhaps are intended for England; or if interrupted by the Parliaments ſhips in their paſſages for France, thoſe that wiſh not well to the Parliament, may perhaps have their ends, and pretend a breach betweene two Nations.

The laſt week you had the five Votes at large, which the pretended Parliament at Oxford have Voted, declaring this Parliament Traitours. I ſhall tell you of a Confirmation of them, for, Maſter Aulicus, commends thoſe Votes, and applieth them as a brand to the Members of this Parliament, and Poſterity. You ſee their boldneſſe at Oxford, and unparallelled Inſolencie, to paſſe ſuch Votes, and make his Majeſtie forget his Oath.

The next week after, the moſt part of eleven Troopes of Horſe of the Enemies were taken at Holbeck neer Leeds, by Col. Lambert; he ſent a party of Horſe and foot under Colonell Doddington to fall upon the Weſtmerland forces, that had entered the County of York, which he did with good ſucceſſe, for he routed Colonell Midletons Regiment, and took the Colonell, and above an hundred ſouldiers more priſoners: the reſt of that County were eaſily perſwaded to retreat home, and keep within their own County.

Sir

Sir Thomas Fairfax is marched into the West Riding of Yorkshire, where he is much desired. Ere long expect some newes from those parts.

It was lately certified from Leicester, that when Colonell *Hastings* and part of Sir *Charles Lucas* his forces were beaten from the passages they endeavoured to maintain neer Louthborough; that the common souldiers were earnest to pursue the advantage, but the Commander in chiefe refused to let them go on: and a Major of a Regiment of horse did for halfe an houre confer with the Enemy in a Close: and afterwards mocking and scoffing at the Souldiers that were singing of Psalmes; saying, Pox light on all these Roundheads, they think to go to Heaven by singing of Psalms. By this, and many examples of the like nature in the Armie of the Parliament, you may see how necessary it is, to reforme, as to recrute, but both Reformation and Recruting might have been done ere now, if some obstructions had not been. I will not name these two persons accused of this neglect, or worse action, till they have bin questioned by a Counsell of war.

If in the Passage of the Enemy towards Newarke, so little opposition was given when they came there, the like favourable construction might be made of their comming towards Newarke, as not to oppose them to the purpose: for the Enemy no sooner advanced neer Newarke, but the forces that besieged Newarke drew into a Body, and in such a place, as neither policy nor prudence could perswade them unto: the 1500 horse after a Charge, wheeled to their place of advantage, the foot retreating as aforesaid yeelded upon condition, to march away with Swords and Pikes, which conditions were granted, but not performed by the Enemy: for they not only stripe them of the said armes, but of their clothes and other baggage: where justly to lay the fault is not yet discerned; some say the souldiers would have fought, but the Commanders would not let them, (all that know Sir *John Meldrum*, cannot say he is backward to action) others say the Commanders would have fought and the Lincolneshire souldiers would not: but many say that addresses were made to Cambridge for fresh supplyes, upon intelligence of P. *Ruperts* advance, (or rather a party in his name) to endeavour the raising of the siege; but were referred to a power Paramount consisting of many, not of one: where ever the fault lyes, here or there, the losse of 3000 armes was great (the men are retreated to their quarters at Lincolne and Gainsborough) wherein I am defective, (as I am sure in number of armes I am not) *Aulicus* will supply, if not exceed next week to preserve Lincolnshire, and the Associated Counties, from being overspred by the insulting enemy. The Earle of *Manchester* is marched fro Cambridge with 3000 foot, and a 1000 horse, Colonell *Cromwell* is to joyn with his Regiment of a 1000 horse, and the 1500 horse before mentioned, then in the service, are to joyne also: Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who is joyned

with

with his forces in the West-riding of Yorkshire, also by a diversion, will give a great assistance to the Associated forces.

From the Scots Army we have heard nothing this week, neither of any service done by them, or against them: therefore I will write nothing by conjecture.

For Sir *William Waller*, he is joyned with Colonell *Browne*, and Sir *William Balfore*; on Saturday night last they were within six miles of the enemy: Sir *Ralph Hopton* is drawne into the field, a mile on this side Winchester, on the Downes: It is conceived Sir *William Waller* will not fight, though he be ten thousand strong, but rather stand in a posture of defence, then to engage.

There is a Commission intercepted under his Majesties Seale, and signed *Charles Rex*: to this purpose;

CHarles by the (for Grace was omitted in the Patent) of God, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To our trusty, and welbeloved John Van Haesdoncke, Greeting. VVhereas, besides our Fleets already set forth, we have held it very convenient and necessary for our service, to arme or cause to be armed and set forth to Sea as many more Ships, and Vessels of war as possibly we can, for the effectuall stopping of the Rebels commerce and supply by Sea, which is one of the most probable means to put a speedy end to the Rebellion in this Kingdome (will his Majesty never leave off the word Rebels, and Rebellion? It is not the loss at Newarke will support that faction that advises such language) VVe do therefore by these Presents, Authorize and appoint you to be Admirall, and chiefe Commander of a Fleete consisting of as many able Ships and Frigots of war, fitted and provided with Ordnance, Ammunition, Armes, and Victuall, and all other necessaries, as you and others that shall associate with you from time to time can conveniently set forth to Sea: Authorising and commanding you to do, and cause to be done to the Rebels and their adherents, all possible damage and hostility in their commerce and Navigation, &c.

If this Admirall have no better successe then the faint hearted Earle of *Marlebrough*, he may take Fishermen, but no Man of War.

The Malignants hearing of this losse of Armes at Newarke, ate so jolly, as if all were their owne, whereas they have no more Armes, nor so many, as they themselves lost at the battell neere Horne-castle, and at the taking of Lincolne and Gainsborough: Besides, the Malignants have charted sufficiently for their sieges; witnesse his Majesties Royall-siege at Glocester, raised with dishonour to the enemy: Prince *Maurice* his siege against Plimouth, raised with dishonor to his highnesse: and the Marquisse of *Newcastle* his siege against Hull, raised with shame to the besieger: And shall it be more dishonour to honest Sir *John Meldrum*, to be enforced to raise the siege at Newarke; it is the chance of war; we have men enough, hearts enough, and armes sufficient, & that which is above all, God is on our side he that searcheth all hearts, knows the Parliament (God forgive those that have privat ends) aims at nothing but his Glory, and the Advancement of the Gospel, & the prevention of Popery for being set up in this Kingdom.

Printed according to Order for *Robert White*.

Numb. 5.

THE MILITARY SCRIBE.

Publiſhing his true VVarre-like Relations to the PEOPLE.

From Tueſday the 19. of *March*, to Tueſday, the 26. of *March*. 1644.

Anglorum Prælia.

OUr Scribe Related the laſt weeke, that Sir *John Meldrum* (who ſtill beſiegeth *Newark* upon *Trent*) heard a Report, that Prince *Rupert*, was comming with great forces to raiſe his Siege, whereupon he ſent out a ſtrong party of horſe to obſerve his poſture, who going out into the Countrey, found onely ſome of Generall *Haſtings* and Sir *Charles Lucas* forces gathered together, who diſperſed and retreated upon their approach. The full truth of which Relation is now verified with further addition in this manner, That Sir *John Meldrum* hearing that Generall *Haſtings*, and Sir *Charles Lucas* forces were come towards *Burghley* houſe in *Rutland*-ſhire, which is kept by Colonel *Whaite* for the King and Parliament, ſent out 1500 Horſe and Dragoners with two Drakes to drive them from thence (becauſe perhaps they intended either to beſiege, or ſet upon that Houſe, to draw Sir *Johns* forces from *Newark*) where the two oppoſite parties meeting, they charged each other fiercely, after which charge, Sir *John Meldrums* men wheeled off both to the right and to the left, and op ned

their body to play with their Drakes upon their enemies, which were instantly fired upon them (they not knowing of any Ordnance) and cut off some of them, notwithstanding which, the Enemie rallied againe to give a fresh charge, the Cannoneers in the mean time having laden their Drakes againe, fired them the second time upon the enemie, and cut off more of them, thereupon the residue of them retreated, and fled, but how many of them were slaine and taken Prisoners, the Messenger that brought this Relation could not tell, because he came instantly away after the enemy began to flee, and stayed not to see the end.

But now our Scribe heareth, that Prince *Rupert* is come out of Shropshire with his forces, and that hee hath faced *Tamworth* Castle, upon the borders of Stafford-shire and Warwickshire, and that hee is comming towards *Newarke* upon *Trent*, which, as it is said, hath occasioned Sir *Thomas Fairfax* to come with his forces to *Nottingham*, to prevent his designe, and it is also said, that the Earl of *Manchester* hath sent Colonel *Cromwell* from *Cambridge*, with a great strength towards *Newarke*, to keep him from disturbing the Siege, or relieving that Towne, so that it is supposed, that if he dare come on, there will some blowes be given between the two contrary parties. Yet our Scribe is not confident of these Relations, and as he will suspend his beliefe for a while, so he wisheth others to doe the like, untill either Letters or certain Messengers certifie the truth of these things.

There hath been some motion of late in Devonshire, where the inhabitants of *Hemyock* a Village in that County, refused to pay the Taxes imposed by the Cavaliers, whereupon Sir *John Berkley* the Governour of *Exeter*, sent some Troopes of Horse to compell them to pay it, against whom the Countrey People, as it is reported, rose up in Armes to resist them, but were forced to disperse, because their strength was not sufficient to oppose them; to whose assistance, Colonell *Were* went out of *Lyme* in Dorsetshire, but being incautelous in his march thither, hee lost a Hundred of his Horse, which were taken by the forces that belong to the Lord *Poulet*, and Sir *John Stowell*, the Governour of *Taunton* in Somersetshire, whereby *Lyme* is deprived of some of its strength, which may prove hazardous to that Towne, in regard their enemies have a continuall eye upon them, and watch an oppertuuity either to besiege them, or else to put some other notable device upon them.

Humane Blood-shed hath alwayes been execrated by Pagans and Infidells, though casually, and by misadventure committed, but when it is done,

done against faith and promiſe, is cannot but be the more odious both in the ſight of God and man. Wherefore let all men impartially judge of the cruell act of the Welch Cavaliers, upon the defendants of *Hopton* Caſtle in Shropſhire, who having defended that Peece againſt their enemies, which beſieged it, they were at length, upon want of Powder and other Ammunition, forced to crave Quarter, which being granted them, they yeelded the Place, and came out of it, but they were no ſooner iſſued out, then their cruell and faithleſſe enemies, moſt barbarouſly hack'd and hewed them with their ſwordes, and drove them into a great pit, and there buried them alive, they being about the number of 14. Perſons. Tis true, that theſe men had reſolutely repulſed their enemies, and ſlaine about 60. of them in their aſſaulting of that Caſtle, which the Lawes of this Land allow, as is well knowne to all that are verſed in them, but that the Law of Armes ſhould be violated in cold blood, is an act unbefitting Humanity, much leſſe Chriſtian Proteſtants. This lamentable ſtory is verified by a Letter out of thoſe parts.

One that lately came from *Oxford* certifieth, that a New Oath is framed there, the ſubſtance whereof is, to inforce all thoſe perſons that are now under the Power and command of the Cavaliers, to defend and maintaine the New Anti-Parliament there, with their lives and Eſtates, which if it be refuſed, a Menace accompliſheth this Oath, that ſuch refuſers ſhall ſuffer death, and their goods and eſtates be confiſcated, &c.

Some perſons that are lately come from Stafford, affirme, that the Town ſhould have been betrayed into the hands of the Cavaliers at *Lychfield* and *Dudley* Caſtle, by a Lieutenant, and ſome of the Souldiers that guard the Towne, which though it is diſcovered, the whole buſineſſe is not yet examined to the botome, and therefore the Relators could for the preſent give no further certainty thereof, which muſt be expected hereafter.

An Expreſſe out of the North Weſt parts relateth, that while Prince *Rupert* lay upon the borders of Cheſhire and Denbighſhire, Colonell *Mitton* ſent a party of Horſe from *Wem* in Shropſhire, each Horſeman having a Musketier behinde him, to beate up one of his Quarters, which they ſo reſolulely performed, that they took threeſcore of his Horſe, and thirty of his men Priſoners, with which booty, they in their returne to *Wem*, ſtayed a while in a little Village

called *Farus*, to refresh themselves, where staying too long drinking, their enemies from another Quarter of Prince *Ruperts* came upon them, rescued their owne Horse and men, and took 40. of Colonell *Mittons* foot Souldiers Prisoners, the rest of his Horse and foot narrowly escaped their clatches.

Captaine *Swanley* hath done great service in *Milford* Haven, and Pembrokshire, for he hath taken all the Ordnance that was planted upon the shore against him, and made those ships that ran themselves on ground unserviceable, and he hath setled the County of *Pembroke* in a quiet obedience to the King and Parliament, besides, hee hath sent some of the Shippes he took in *Milford* Haven, towards *London*, loaden with Welch Sea-coales, and since hee is come to *Lundey Iland*, which lieth between *Cornwall* and *Southwales*, which he is fortifying with men and Ordnance, to stop all ships that shall come in and out of *Bristoll*, and and he intendeth to goe and lie with his ships in the mouth of the River of *Severne* neere that City, to keep all entercouse by Sea from it, and to hinder any more supplies of men out of *Ireland*, either to *Mynhead* or that City.

It hath heretofore beeu Related, that the new Anti-Parliament at *Oxford* had given the King an 100000 l. but when they could not find out a way how to raise it, they have now devised to leavy it by Privie Seales, which are to be sent to *Bristoll*, *Exeter*, and throughout all the VVesterne parts of this Kingdome, for the collecting thereof, which how welcome it will be to those that have been forely Taxed there, time will manifest.

There hath been much talk this week of the surrender of *Latham* house in Lancashire, which belongeth to the Earle of *Derby*, and hath been for some while besieged by Colonell *Rigby* and his Lancashire forces; and some persons have confidently affirmed these particulars thereof, that the Countesse of *Derby* was taken there, who hath kept it ever since the Earle her husband fled into the Ile of Man, and that with her were taken, one hundred and forty Commanders and common Souldiers, a whole Troop of Horse consisting of fifty persons more, and thirteen peeces of brasse Ordnance. the verity of which Relation our Scribe yet somewhat doubteth of, because he hath not seen, or heard of any Letters to confirme it from those parts, which if it be true, without question the certain Newes thereof will suddenly arrive here.

Our

Our Scribe related before, that the Devonſhire men were gathered together at *Hemyock* a Village in that County, to oppoſe the unreaſonable Tax impoſed upon them by the Governour of *Exceſter*, but were fain to disband again, being too inconſiderable to reſiſt their oppreſſors, which diſperſement, ſo infinitely rejoyced the Cavaliers their enemies, that were garriſoned in the Town of *Culliton* in Devon, that they for joy fell to ringing their Bells, to make Bonefires, and to quaffing and drinking even to intemperancie; whereof the *Lyme* men in Dorſetſhire, which is diſtant about ſix miles from the ſaid Town of *Culliton*, having notice, they with a conſiderable ſtrength marched out in the evening, and in the dead of the night beſet their enemies, (who like the *Trojans*, were *Somno vinoque ſepulti*, overwhelmed with a deep Lethargy of drunken diſtemper) entered the Town, and took neer two hundred of them priſoners, with all their armes. This newes was carried from thence to *Taunton* in Sommerſetſhire, by ſome few of thoſe Cavaliers that eſcaped thither, from whence it is brought to *London* by ſome that lately came out of that Town.

This booty will enable the *Lyme* men to redeem their Troopers, which were taken from Colonell *Were* in his Expedition into Devonſhire, by the mutuall exchange of theſe Cavaliers for thoſe that were ſo incautelouſly ſurprized in their iourney to *Hemyock*.

Concerning the affaires of Sir *William Waller* and Sir *William Balfore*, it hath been bruited this week, that they were advanced and ingaged in Hampſhire againſt Sir *Ralph Hopton* and his Forces: but our Scribe having taken ſome paines to ſift out the truth of thoſe Rumors, is certified by Letters from *Chicheſter* in *Suſſex*, dated the 18. and 19. dayes of this month, that Sir *William Waller* came into that Citie with his train and Artillery upon the ſaid 18. day, and that he celebrated a ſolemn Faſt there upon the 19. day, to implore Gods bleſſing and aſſiſtance on his endeavours and enterpriſes, for the good of the King and Parliament, that he had ſummoned all the Countrey Teems of horſe about thoſe parts of that Citie, to come in to him for the ſervice of his carriages and Ordnance. And a Gentleman that came from *Portſmouth* on the 22. of this month, affirmed in our Scribes hearing, that the day before Sir *William Waller* was ſtill in *Chicheſter*, but that ſome part of his Forces were advanced from thence to *Carthrington* ſix miles beyond that City,

and

and to *Havant* in Hampſhire, that the two *London* white and yellow Regiments were advanced from *Petworth* in *Suſſex* to *Midherſt*, ſix miles diſtant from thence in that County, that the horſe and foot which were ſent out of the Eaſt part of *Kent*, were come to Sir *William Waller*; that Sir *William Balfores* horſe and Dragoneers (which were accounted about the number of four thouſand) were quartered at *Porcheſter*, *Portſmouth*, *Peterſfield*, *Lippocke*, and other bordering places of *Hampſhire*, that both their forces were ſaid to amount to neer twenty thouſand fighting men, that the *Surrey* forces were advancing to *Godalming* in that County towards *Hampſhire*, and that for the ſpace of 19. miles riding, he ſaw every Town and Village filled with ſouldiers, which belonged to thoſe two Chieftaines; and laſtly, that Sir *Ralph Hoptons* forces were entrenching themſelves upon *Tichburn* Down neere the City of *Wincheſter* in Hampſhire, whoſe Army conſiſts moſt of young boyes, that are forcibly taken from their Parents and Maſters, who alſo want Armes and Military Exercise, as it is credibly reported.

From *Newbery* in Barkſhire our Scribe is certified, that Generall *Ruthen* the Kings Lieutenant and Sir *Ralph Hopton*, were met in that Town to conſult of their affaires, where (as it is ſaid) they framed a Challenge to Sir *William Waller*, to fight with them at a preſixed day and place, who no doubt will anſwer their provocation, with his beſt advantage and opportunitie, as hee ſhall ſee fitting.

Our Scribe hath aſſidiouſly collected, all the Relations concerning the Siege of *Newark* upon *Trent*, that hee could heare of this Weeke: which are thus. On the 21. of this Moneth, it was certified from thence by a Letter, that Sir *John Meldrums* Army there was in good condition, that he had force enough to reſiſt ſuch of his enemies, as would come thither to attempt the rayſing of his ſiege from that Town, ſo as he were not overpowred with too great a ſtrength, and that the Cavaliers in the Town wanted both food, ammunition, and other proviſions, to keep it any long time againſt him. This was confirmed by a *Scottiſh* Gentleman, that came from thence hither the day following. And on the 23. day of this Moneth, a Meſſenger came from thence with Letters, who affirmed, that Prince *Ruperts* forces being come within two miles of the Towne,

Sir

Sir *John Meldrum* went with a party out againſt them, between whom there had been a great fight on thurſday, that at the firſt incounter, Sir *John Meldrums* horſe were routed, which rallying themſelves againe, came up with their whole body, and aſſailed their enemies, and ſlew three hundred of them upon the place, amongſt whom General *Haſtings* was alſo ſlain, whoſe dead body the Meſſenger ſaw lying upon the ground, and that Sir *John* was Maſter of the field. Beſides our *Scribe* hath bin certified, that Col. *Beher*, who made the late ſurprize of the Earle of *Northamptons* Regiment upon the borders of *Glouceſter-ſhire* and *Warwick-ſhire*, was ioyning his forces with the Towns of *Coventry*, *Leiceſter*, *Northampton*, and other places to fall upon Prince *Ruperts* Reare, but more of that hereafter. And this is all our *Scribe* can Relate for the preſent of thoſe affaires.

The Earle of *Marborough* hath lately ſeized upou a *London* Merchant ſhip called the *Swift-Sure*, beiing of the burthen of three hundred Tunnes, upon the cooſt of *France*, by the treacherie of the Maſter and Purſer thereof, which one of the owners hearing of, went into *France*, and being come aboard her, laid claime unto her; but the Mariners being new men, ſeized upon him, clapt him into the round houſe, and ſet a guard of Muſquetiers to keep him in, where being ſome while detained, hee deſired to ſpeake with the Earle of *Marlborough*, and was preſently carryed aboard to him, where hee clayming his ſhip, had a negative Anſwer given him by the Earle, and could not obtaine his requeſt, whereupon he deſired his Lordſhip that he might bee ſet on ſhore at the next Towne, which was St. *Mallo's* in *Bretaigne*, where he made his complaint to the Governour and Judges, and entred into a ſuit in Law againſt the Maſter and Purſer of his ſhip, during which ſuit in Law, and before it was determined, there came a *Mandamus* from the French Queen Regent, charging the Judges to proceed no further in the ſuit, whereby the Earle of *Marlborough* had liberty to retaine the ſhip, and hath ſent her towards Briſtoll, as it was reported on Saturday.

Our *Scribe* hath heard nothing from the Scots Army, ſince the Printed Relations came forth, that the two oppoſite *Armies* had faced each other two dayes, and that the Earle of *New-caſtle* was retreated to *Durham*, with the loſſe of about 30. of his men, and 800. of his horſe, by a violent cold ſtorm of ſnow; onely hee hath heard a report, that ſome of the Parliaments ſhips that guard our

North

North Coasts, should have driven *Browne Bushell's* ship (that was come out of *Holland* with 4000. Armes and Ammunition) on shore between *Sunderland* and *Hartlepoole*, and that the Scots were marched thither to seize upon her. But we cannot verifie this report for a truth, and therefore wish a suspension of belief, untill it be more certainly related.

The forraigne Letters that came this week, have sundry remarkable passages in them to this effect: That *Ragozi*, the Prince of *Transylvania*, is entered into the Emperour of *Germanies* Dominions in *Hungarie*, with sixty thousand men, which Army he hath divided into foure severall bodies, & with one of them hath besieged one of the Emperors greatest Towns of importance in that Kingdom, the other three severall parts forrageth the Countrey, and hath made great waste in it, and that the Emperor is raising all the power he can make in *Austria*, *Bohemia*, and the adjacent parts, to relieve his besieged Town, and to oppose his enemy.

That the *Swedes* have taken the most part of the Kingdome of *Denmark*, excepting the Ilands that lye between *Shonen* on the East, and *Jutland* on the West part of them, and that the Emperours forces are drawing towards *Leipsich* and *Nuumberg* in *Saxony*, to help the *Danes*.

That the Lords of *Leyden* in *Holland*, have expelled the old Nuns out of their Towne, because they entertained many Popish Priests and Jesuites in their House, and that the Papists begin now much to increase in the united Provinces, and are growne very bold amongst them.

That the French Queen Regent hath sent an Ambassador into *Italy*, to make peace between the Pope, and the Princes; and from *Venice* they write, that the peace is as good as concluded, the Pope restoring all again he took from the Princes.

Printed according to Order for
G. Bishop. 1644.

A 12

VINDICATION
OF THE
Treatiſe of Monarchy,
CONTAINING
An Anſwer to Dr *Fernes* Reply;

ALSO,

A more full Diſcovery of Three maine Points;

1. *The Ordinance of God in Supremacie.*
2. *The Nature and Kinds of Limitation.*
3. *The Cauſes and Meanes of Limitation in Governments.*

Done by the Authour of the former Treatiſe.

LONDON,
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March. 26

A VINDICATION OF THE Treatiſe of Monarchie.

The Preface.

PEruſing with a ſad heart and conſcience, deſirous of Information the Papers made publike by the Defenders of both ſides in this wofull diviſion; I found divers of them running out into irreconcileable extreames: among which this *Reſolver*, the Authour of the fuller Anſwer, and the Divines pleading for Defenſive Armes were the chief. In which I conceived there were paſſages contrary to all true policie, and the particular Frame of this State. Hereon a deſire of allaying mens ſpirits, and reducing them to a moderate compliance in one Truth induced me to a compoſing of that Treatiſe, In which how farre I have attained my ayme, I leave it to the world to judge.

But it fals out with me, as it did with *Moſes* endeavouring to ſet at one his contentious Brethren, I have hard words and cenſures laid on me for my labour. This Doctour tels me, I have ſowne ſeeds of ſedition, opened a way to Rebellion, and termes me an engaged man. But to whom I am engaged, unleſſe to Truth, I know not: Engaged indeed I am to defend the Kings Supremacie againſt one part by my *Oath of Allegiance*; and engaged to defend the Priviledges of Parliament, and lawfull Liberties of the Subject, againſt the other part, by my *Proteſtation*: beyond theſe I know none, and perhaps if this *cenſurer* knew my condition, he would acknowledge as much. No, thoſe men are rather engaged, whom, ayming at *Miters* and a *dominion* over their *fellow-Presbyters*, it much concernes to prove the Power of Kings *unlimited*, that ſo they may be able to ſatisfie their *unlimited* deſires, and uphold them in a *boundleſſe* juriſdiction over the conſciences of men; but for this Doctor, I know him not, I judge him not.

Then, for Sedition and Rebellion, The ſearcher of all hearts knowes how farre they were from being the ſcope of that diſcourſe, rather it was an utmoſt aſſay of appeaſment, by ſhewing the way to a diſcreet moderation. Theſe Maſters of controverſie take a right courſe to ſubvert the Kingdom by diſputing men into a degree of Oppoſition beyond all Attonement, for as I am perſwaded the high ſpirit of Kings will rather incurre the worſt hazzard then ſubmit to ſuch termes, as to be *Univerſis minores*, that is, ſubject to their Subjects, common ſervants and Officers of their Kingdomes, tyed up to an abſolute neceſſity of aſſenting to the Determinations and Votes of the States: So I am as confident, that theſe two Britiſh Nations, yea very many now being in his Majeſties Armies, will ſpend their laſt bloud rather then come downe to this Doctors termes, ſc. *a meere paſſive non reſiſtence* of ſubverſive inſtruments of Arbitrarie commands, a ſimple morall liberty, which the baſeſt

ſlaves.

ſlaves in the Turks gallies enjoy, becauſe it cannot be taken from them.

For my part, I doe not reckon my life and liberty worth ſo much pleading for; but the libertie of my Country is deare to me: The eſtabliſhed Government is deare to me, becauſe in it is bound up Religion, the publicke Good, yea the very Title of the King to this Crowne. Theſe I plead for againſt a man, who by his unconſcionable reſolves of Conſcience, hath done what by a pen can be done, to diſſolve them: who in three whole books hath undertaken the Patronage of Subverters of Religion, Laws and Government: and thinks it worth his pains if he can procure them an irreſiſtibilitie.

I thought I had weighed out Truth to both ſorts with ſo even a ballance in that Treatiſe, that none had any cauſe to complaine. But, I ſee, this man muſt have all goe his owne way: He hath a high deſigne, no leſſe then a full conqueſt of all *States*; To bind the Conſciences and hands of Nations, and deliver them up to the Executioner to inflict on them the capitall doom of ſubverſion, if at any time the ſupreme Magiſtrate pleaſe to give the word. To this purpoſe having made ſome animadverſions on ſcattered paſſages of my Book. He is pleaſed to publiſh them under the ſtile of a *Reply*; I may well call it a *negative Reply*. He denies what I have aſſerted; and layes downe his owne contradictorie Notions, and that is all; no Scripture nor Reaſon, but what is fully anſwered in my former: It is ſo hollow a diſcourſe, that an ordinary eye may ſee through it, without the light of any further Anſwer; yet becauſe he gives me occaſion of fuller illuſtration, and juſtifying my ſuppoſals; and diſcovering the vanity of his, I have made him this *Return*, in which I have to my knowledge, left unanſwered no paſſage of moment which concernes me, in his Reply; other parts of it have I left untouched for them to whom they belong.

And now with proſtrate humility I beſeech that *ſacred Authoritie*, which here againe, is made the matter of this diſpute, not to impute iniquity unto me preſuming, for Truth and Conſcience ſake, to make inquiries into it. The Sun-beames ſtrike not dead the poor Mathematician, who ſtanding on this mole-hill, aſſaies by his inſtruments to take the dimenſions of that glorious bodie. Yea the great God of Power permits men without the guilt of ſin, to ſearch into his Perfections, and to ſet, not poſitive, yet negative bounds to Omnipotence it ſelfe. Let not then his Vicegerent be incenſed to diſdain, if we ſearch into the limits of his Power. I envie not it's extent, let it be as large as Truth and Law can ſtretch it: And my dutie binds me to beleeve that he would not have it larger. Princes require a reaſonable ſubjection, and that is beſt performed where the nature and meaſure of Power is beſt knowne: which to find out is all the drift of my former and this Treatiſe, unto which now we will paſſe over.

THE

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A VINDICATION OF THE Treatiſe of Monarchie. OR, An Anſwer to Dr *FERNES* Reply.

CHAP. I.

An Anſwer to the firſt Section of his Reply.

THE firſt Section containes his *Preface*, where taxes me, *that I looke not with a ſingle eye on what he hath written, miſconſtruing it many times:* but whether I have ſo done or no, it will be manifeſt in the ſequel. Then more then once, he cenſures me for being *engaged.* What engagements I have, appeares before in my *Preface*: But, *I ſet up my reſt upon a groundleſſe fancie of ſuch a mixture and conſtitution of this Monarchy, &c.* Whoſe ſuppoſals are groundleſſe fancies, his or mine, I doubt not will fully appeare in this enſuing diſcourſe. Neither had I any other purpoſe to which I have fitted that

p. 2. Sect. 1.

Treatiſe then the ſimple finding out of truth, God knowes how ever the Doctor pleaſeth to cenſure the purpoſes of my heart, Viewing this Reſolvers diſcourſe, for the ſatisfaction of my conſcience, I found it confuſed, and not approaching the Caſe which now troubles the world: Men enquire about the Lawfulneſſe of Reſiſtance of *Inſtruments*: He anſwers concerning Reſiſtance of the *King*: Men demand, Whether Reſiſtance of ſubverſive Inſtrumenrs be the Reſiſtance of Gods Ordidinance forbidden, *Rom.* 13. He ſuppoſeth that which is the Queſtion; and makes that the ground of his Reſolve which is the ſole thing at which the conſcience ſcruples. This put me on a Diſcourſe of Monarchy, that ſo by a diſtinct conſidering of the grounds of true Policie, I might both ſatisfie my ſelfe and others: and not ſuffer mens conſciences, ſeriouſly deſiring ſound information to be either puzled or miſled by ſo confuſe and indirect a Reſolution. Yet ſomething there is which he likes in me, that is, as much as ſerves his own turne. *I doe with much ingenuity diſclaime, and with no leſſe reaſon confute ſeverall Aſſertions of other Writers, &c.* in p. 2. Would he could as well have ſeen my confutation of his, as of other errours: What I have ſaid againſt him, as it proceeds from the ſame impartiall ſpirit, ſo it containes the ſame truth; as, I doubt not, the judicious Reader will diſcerne. But yet *I hold the ground on which their Abſurd aſſertions are raiſed*, ſc. *that the Mixture is in the Supremacie of Power, only I give the King*, apicem poteſtatis, *the top or excellency of Power, that is, the King is the crown or top of the head, &c.* Thus is he pleaſed to jeere me, but how juſtly, it will hereafter appeare. And wheras I place the Authority of determining the laſt controverſies in a mixt Government, not in the two Houſes, this he commends in me: but that I doe not aſcribe it to the King; This he exclaimes againſt, *as aready may to confuſion*, but why, and how it is ſo, he tells us not; only promiſeth to ſpeake of it *more below*, but where that *below* is, I cannot find.

Sect. 2. After he hath thus touched upon thoſe things which he is pleaſed to tax in my Treatiſe. He proceeds, *p.* 4. to ſhew us what his intent was of firſt undertaking and now proceeding in this Argument. Well: let us heare what it was. *The intent of his firſt Treatiſe was to reſolve the Conſciences of miſled people, touching the unlawfulneſſe of Armes now taken up againſt the King.* He erres in his propoſing of the very Caſe. I believe he knowes no conſcience miſled touching this matter: The Caſe which he ſhould have reſolved, if he had done any thing, was touching

touching the unlawfulneſſe of Armes now taken up againſt ſubverting inſtruments of the Government of the Kingdome; and that the reſiſting of theſe is a Reſiſting of the King; No wonder if he who ſhootes at a wrong marke looſeth all his arrowes. This wrong propoſing and proſecuting of ſo weighty a caſe (which I doubt was purpoſely done) ſet me firſt on work in this buſineſſe. Heare then the caſe more ſimply propoſed: and I refer me to the conſciences of men, whether I come not neerer the truth of it, then this proponent hath done. The Houſes declare Religion and eſtabliſhed Government to be in apparent danger, by meanes of ſome ſubverſive Counſellours and Inſtruments about the King. This being ſuppoſed, they proceed according to *Vote* to the *Ordinance* and execution of the *Militia*, ſo to reſiſt and apprehend thoſe Counſellours and Inſtruments from whom they had declared the danger to ſpring. This put on the Doctor to his firſt booke, to *reſolve* the conſciences of men, that it was unlawfull: Now ſee what courſe he tels us he took to reſolve men in this caſe. He undertakes to make good two Aſſertions. 1. *Were the King ſo ſeduced, it were not ſafe to beare part in the reſiſtance of Armes now uſed againſt him.* 2. *That the caſe is not ſo, as they ſuppoſe, but rather apparently contrary.* In the proofe of theſe two, he ſpends his whole book. Concerning the latter I intend no controverſie with the Doctor: Would he could make it cleare to the ſatisfaction of the conſciences of all men; that were the way indeed not only to ſatisfie mens conſciences, but to calme the Kingdome into a bleſſed peace. But the Doctor is but ſlight in that part; and ſayes nothing, but what, as appeares in the Debate in the end of my Treatiſe, may ſoone be anſwered out of the Declarations of the Houſes, and the freſh memory of paſt occurrents: And in this reply he hath not ſo much as touched upon that Chapt. of my book: But that which in his firſt Tract he mainely, and in this Reply he ſolely labours to make good is the firſt *Aſſertion*, which is a univerſall one, and worthy to be examined in all Ages and Governments, whatſoever becomes of this preſent contention in this Kingdome. Now concerning that *Theſis*, in my Treatiſe of Monarchy I have affirmed and confirmed two things. 1. That if he could make it good, yet it were nothing to the buſineſſe he hath undertook; which is to ſatisfie the conſcience concerning the Unlawfulneſſe of Reſiſting Inſtruments, not the King, of which hee hath ſpoken very little or nothing at all. 2. That if he could prove that in ſome Kingdomes where the will of the King is the

peoples Law, Resistance of Instruments were unlawfull, if actuated by the Soveraignes will: Yet in Legall and Limited Governments, it doth not follow to be true: yet this he must make good, if in our present case he satisfie mens consciences as he undertakes. These two are the summe of my Answer to the Doctor in that Treatise, and if in this Reply he doth any thing, he must speake to these points. Something he hath here spoken concerning the *Ordinance of God* in Supremacy, *Of Cases of Resistance*; *of Kinds of Monarchy, of the Constitution of this Monarchy*; but how truly and satisfactorily, it is my part to examine, and let the world judge.

But as if he had already cleared the matter, he proceeds to give sentence before the cause be heard: *And doubts not to call the contrary Resolution a Blaspheming of God and the King*, p 4. I answer, If there be any which will defend the lawfulnesse of taking Armes against the *King*, and in any case to *resist the Powers*, They crosse the evident truth of Scripture, and I condemne them: Yet me thinks the Doctor deales somewhat severely with them, to call them *Blasphemers of God*, for every errour about the word is not *Blasphemie*; but a wilfull and obstinate speaking evill of the things of God. Likewise concerning a King, if it be true that he be seduced; then it is no *blasphemie*, which alwayes is a *falshood*. If it be false, yet it is inhumane to call it a *blaspheming*, when it imputes nothing to him, but *to be seduced*, which the best and most innocent Prince may be: sure, if it be *a blaspheming*, it is of the Counsellours and seducers, for to them the evill is imputed.

Then *p. 6.* He comes to speake of what he intends in this present booke: *sc.* that he will cleare this point, *That the Doctrine teaching that subjects may take Armes against their Soveraigne for the defence of Religion and Liberties, when in danger of subversion, is destitute of Scripture and true reason.* As I said, still he drives at a vaine scope; to prove that which none denies: Let him prove, that in our Kingdome, Resistance of subversive instruments is a taking Armes against their Soveraigne, and he does the work; else he proves in vaine. But let us see how in the *processe of this booke*, that will be cleared which none doth deny. *First upon examination of places of Scripture it will appeare, that Gods people were continually under Kings which they might not resist, &c.* What then? must it needs follow, that all other people must too? But whether the word containes any thing against Resistance, and how far, we shall enquire in the processe of this dispute.

diſpute. *Secondly, Upon the examination of Reaſon, it will appeare how inconſiſtent ſuch a Power of Reſiſtance in ſubjects is with Government, &c.* Indeed he will make appeare a great matter; would he would ſpeake ſomething to the Queſtion, and not proceed ſo indiſtinctly; I hope in the proceſſe of his book he will come neerer to the buſineſſe then here he promiſeth, or elſe all our labour will be to little purpoſe.

After he hath told us what great matters we are to expect in his booke; he complaines how much his expectation hath been deceived by his Adverſaries. He confeſſes, They have great *appearance of Reaſon raiſed on* Ariſtotles *grounds or principles; ſo that at firſt ſight it ſeemed unreaſonable that ſubjects ſhould be left without this remedy.* If he ſpeake all this of *Reſiſtance of their ſoveraigne*, ſure it ſeemes not at all *unreaſonable*, but agreeable to all reaſon that ſubjects ſhould be without this remedy: It is directly againſt the word and all ſound reaſon, that a people lifting up a Perſon above themſelves, and by ſacred Covenant giving him a Power above themſelves, ſhould afterward on any pretence aſſume a power of Reſiſting that Perſon and power, and violate their own Covenant and Oath of due ſubjection. But if that Perſon be inveſted with a *limited Power*: and he proceed to acts of meere arbitrarineſſe without the limits of that Power conferred on him; Then it is all the reaſon in the world, that the *Limiting States* ſhould exerciſe an effectuall reſtraining Power by reſiſting inſtruments of ſuch arbitrary and ſubverſive acts, and we have not a ſillable of Scripture contradicting it. But if it ſeemed ſo *unreaſonable* to the Doctor, that ſubjects ſhould be without this remedy; why doth he contradict Reaſon in a buſineſſe within its compaſſe? He tells you, *He found Reaſon preſently checked with that ſaying of our Saviour*, Mat. 10. 25. *It is enough for the Diſciple that he be as his Maſter.* And was this all the *check* your Reaſon had? It is a very weake Reaſon which would yeeld to ſuch a check. What? is every Chriſtian bound for his outward ſtate to be in no better caſe then Chriſt was? If he were pleaſed to be borne under an abſolute Government, to be of low and poore condition, doth this impoſe a neceſſity on all to be no freer, no richer then he was? A man would think his *Reaſon* were not only *checked*, but *broken*, which ſhould ſo argue. Let it be proved that by the providence of God we are brought forth under ſuch a Governement as *our Maſter* was, then will we hold our ſelves bound by his example, to abide

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quietly in that condition we are borne to; but if God, as he hath dispenſed to many a richer eſtate then Chriſt was pleaſed to have, ſo hath to us a freer Government; then the Apoſtle adviſeth us *to uſe it rather*, and not to be trifled out of it, by a ſhew of our Maſters example, in a caſe in which it binds no man.

But in what hath his Adverſaries ſo much deceived his expectation? *He expected expreſſe Scripture, but he finds them altogether failing; only their faith and perſwaſion is reſolved into an appearance of reaſon raiſed upon* Ariſtotles *grounds and principles*, p. 6. Mr *Hooker* might have taught him that the intent of the Scripture is to deliver us *credenda*; but in matters within the compaſſe of Reaſon, it is enough if we have evident reaſon for it, *Scriptura non contradicente*: and I am confident the Scripture hath not a tittle againſt ſuch a Reſiſtence as I doe maintaine; and we have reaſon enough for it. The Scripture was not given to preſcribe *frames of Policie*, which are various according to the diſpoſition of people; Generall Rules there are for Government, which being obſerved, Particulars, which fall under no ſetled Rule, are left to reaſon and the poſitive Lawes of Nations to determine. Yet we are not wholy deſtitute of warrant from Scripture, as the Doctor affirmes, but are better furniſhed then he, as it will appeare in the ſequell. If *Buchanan*, and *Junius Brutus*, or any elſe have raiſed any doctrines on Ariſtotles grounds which will not conſiſt with Gods Ordinance ſet downe in Scripture concerning Authority, I am not bound to make good other mens exceſſes: This Replier knowes, that as I repudiate his Aſſertions tending to the ruine of all Liberties of States: So I hold it unlawfull to uſe any force againſt the perſon, or Authority of the Supreame, even in the moſt Legall and limited Monarchy. Therefore he doth me exceeding wrong in the cloſe of his firſt Section, to ſay, *that, I agree with the reſt to uſe what force they can againſt ſuch a Monarch for ſuppreſſing of his tyranny, &c.* All I ſay is, *that Force may be uſed*; but neither againſt the *Perſon* nor *Authority of the Monarch*, which in all Governments of that nature are to be held ſacred and inviolate.

Chap. II.

An anſwer to the ſecond Section concerning Caſes of Reſiſtence.

I Could have wiſhed, that if it had pleaſed this Doctor to reply any thing, he would have followed the ſteps of my Treatiſe; but ſith he intends

intends no full returne, but doth only catch at here and there a paſſage, without obſerving any order, I will frame my Anſwer to the courſe of his Reply; and cleare the parcels of my book as I find them aſſaulted in my reading of his. The Title of this Section being *Caſes of Reſiſtence*, the firſt part of it is ſpent about ſuch Caſes as are put by the *Divines who plead for Defenſive armes*. At length, *p.*9,10. He comes to the alone *Caſe* in which I defend Reſiſtence, in the *p.*51. of my Tract, where I put the Queſtion of *Perſons miſimployed to ſerve the illegall deſtructive commands of the Prince*. And I affirm in ſuch caſe, and of ſuch Perſons Forceable Reſiſtance to be lawfull by the two Eſtates of Parliament. This I prove by five Arguments, which here the Doctor doth not touch, but referres them to the *p.*93. of this Reply. Only here he gives us a Magiſteriall determination without any proofe at all. But let us heare his Reſolution upon the caſe. He dares not openly to pronounce it unlawfull: but diſtinguiſhes of *Perſons* and *Times*, as if he would yeeld it lawfull in ſome, but not in others; Certes, if for any, then for *the two Eſtates*; if any, then *Inſtruments of ſubverſion*: if ſimply *none*, why doth he with ſo great cautele diſtinguiſh. Well, *audiamus diſtinguentem*: *If by thoſe miſimployed perſons be underſtood the Commanders and Souldiers of the Kings Armies, I cannot ſee (nor any man els, I think) but that the reſiſting of them by a contrary Militia, is a reſiſting of the King, and unlawfull*, p.9. I anſwer, I cannot ſee, nor any man elſe, I think, why *Commanders* and *Souldiers* ſhould have a priviledge of ſubverting States and Governments more then other men: Can the Royall Power extend to give them an irreſiſtibility, and not to others? Certes, if others may be reſiſted, much rather Commanders and Souldiers, becauſe there is greater danger of ſubverſion from them then from others: Their being Commanders and Souldiers makes them more dangerous, but not more priviledged: *But, he nor none elſe can ſee, how ſuch can be reſiſted, but it muſt be a reſiſting of the King, and unlawfull.* Perhaps he is miſtaken in others, they may have clearer eyes then he hath: In the *p.*52. of my Treatiſe, I have made it *luce clarius*, that in a *Legall* Monarchy it is not a Reſiſting of the King. Then he proceedeth to another ſort of men which I hope may be reſiſted. *But if by thoſe miſimployed perſons be underſtood other inſtruments of oppreſſion in times of peace, before it come to Armes.* What of theſe, may ſuch be reſiſted? Here he reſolves very cautelouſly and timorouſly, after many words, *p.*10. *Without prejudice* to other

aſſertions

assertions of his of other resistance, *He conceives it not unreasonable to say, First, if private men be sodainely assaulted, and life imminently endangered, and no meanes of avoiding by flight, then is personall defence lawfull, for such sodaine assault carries no pretence of authority with it.* What is this to the matter? we enquire not of resisting assailants carrying no pretence of authority with them; but of subverters of Government warranted by the Kings will; and carrying pretence of Authority, though they have none? Secondly, If they come with pretence of Authority, there *may be seeking redressement above from Authority, but if that may not be had, yet no resistance.* And who then minding to kill or rob, may not make a pretence of Authority, that so he may effect his mischiefe without repugnance? But yet the Doctor will give us a little more, *The Ministers of Power in each County, and the Houses of Parliament also* (for with him they be equall) *may at first stay, restraine, and commit such misimployed instruments, and so represent the matter againe to the King.* But is not this to resist them? No; he tells us, *this is not to resist.* No? if misimployed instruments may be *staid, restrained, and imprisoned,* sure they may be resisted: Else what if they should choose, and will not be committed; The Parliament must not lay hands on them to compell them; for so there may chance to be fight, and slaughter in the apprehension; and then the Doctor would call it Resistance I think. But suppose the Houses of Parliament doe commit such persons and represent the matter to the King, *and a King should be so obstinate as to persist in the maintenance of those illegall courses, and to that end imploy the Militia, it is neither Legall nor Reasonable, they should pursue the opposition to the setting up of a contrary Militia or Power,* p. 11. Here we see the upshot of the English freedome, and priviledge of Parliament. This is that which I said; *These men overturne all liberties, The result of their doctrine destroyes all policies, reducing them all to that which is arbitrary:* If the King should set Souldiers to destroy Lawes and Parliaments, They may (if they be able) stay their hands till they goe to the King, and know whether it be indeed his will and pleasure to have them destroyed or no; If he say, Yea; then they must returne and submit to the vilest instruments of subversion, and not lift up a hand to resist them. But let us see, on what weighty reason the Doctor builds this fatall Resolution. *This were a contestation of Power with him whose Ministers they are, a levying of warre, an opposing of*

Armies

Armies againſt Armies. Sure this man doth much abhorre a Civill Warre: I cannot blame him: but yet we may buy an immunity too deare, at the prize of a ſubverſion of Religion, Laws and Government, which is the caſe in diſpute. This were to chooſe to be killed, rather then to fight: To have a State ſubverted, rather then diſturbed by a warre to prevent it. I grant, *There muſt be no conteſtation of Power with him Whoſe Miniſters they are:* But this is the point to be proved, that in this caſe, it is ſo: I utterly denie the Royall Power in our State can be communicated to ſubverting Inſtruments: And I doe in vaine expect, while the Doctor prooves that, which every where he ſuppoſeth: For he builds all on this foundation, ſc. *That Gods Ordinance is an Abſolute unlimited Power, inveſting the Whole Will of the Supreame, and cannot be determined in the exerciſe, but onely morally*; the vanitie of which conceit will appeare hereafter, yet note here in the cloſe, that while he pretends a deteſtation of Civill Warre, he could doe nothing more to foment it, then by defending ſuch Poſitions of intolerable ſervitude: Did not ſuch rigid Counſellours of the King of Iſrael cauſe the greateſt Rent and Civill Warre that ever was made in any Kingdome?

Chap. III.

An Anſwer to the third Section which concerns ſeverall kinds of Monarchy.

IN my opinion it had been fitter to have treated firſt of *ſeverall kinds of Monarchy*; and then of *Caſes of Reſiſtance*; for the ſubject *in which* ſhould precede the Queſtion *Whereof*, in all methodicall proceeding. Here againe in the firſt place, this Replier would make his Reader believe that penury of Scripture-proofe put me upon diſtinguiſhing of ſeverall kinds of Monarchy, *That ſo I might lay all the defence of Reſiſtance upon Reaſon drawne from the ſeverall condition of Monarchies*, p. 11. I have ſufficiently before diſcovered my intention in that Treatiſe. The Reſiſtence which I defend hath as much proofe from Scripture, as a matter of that nature need to have. Then he abuſes me, as finding fault with Divines, that pleading for abſoluteneſſe of Monarchicall Power in this Kingdome bring proofes from places of Scripture, p. 12. I complaine not of *all* Divines, but *ſome*, ſuch as this *Reſolver* is: *Some*, and that but of late yeares; and that but *in this kingdome*, where ſuch doctrines are the rode to preferments: nor doe I blame them *for bringing proofes for ſubjection, and againſt Reſiſtance from places of Scripture*, Sect. 1.

ture, as he calumniates me; but I blame their grosse perverting of Scripture; bringing prohibitions of *Resistance of Powers* against them who condemne it as much as themselves; And of *violating the Lords Annointed* against them who hold them as sacred and inviolate, yea on more solid grounds then themselves doe. And their fraudulent reasoning from one kind of government to another, as if all Politicall provisions of States for their Liberties did make no variation in the case; but that still they were in the same State, as the people subject to the most absolute vassallage.

Sect. 1. But because he boasts so much of *setling mens Consciences on warrant from Scripture, that he expects command or allowance of Resistance from Scripture*, p.6. *That his Adversaries resolve all their faith and perswasion on an appearance of Reason drawne from* Aristotles *grounds*, ib. and here *that I observe there is but little pretence from Scripture for Resistance*; and thus would perswade men, as if he had all Scripture for him; we nothing but a few huskes of reason for us; Let him not thinke to carry it thus away with vaunts and big words: I will professe here once for all, He hath not a sillable of Scripture or right reason to satisfie the conscience with in this controversie: If it please this Doctor, let us joyne issue upon it, and put the whole case on this point. The Question betweene us is, *Whether in a limited Monarchie, Resistance of subversive Instruments be unlawfull.* He affirmes, I denie. He undertakes to satisfie mens consciences that it is unlawfull: bringing not one Text of Scripture, which speakes to the point: Something he brings to proove it *unlawfull to resist the Ordinance of God*: that *the Magistrate which is supreame under God is above all Resistance*, p.84. He doth great matters; who doubts of these things: Then p.84. he accumulates nine Arguments, but all so *non concluding*, that ninescore of them will not make one sound proving Reason of the point in question, as it will appeare when we come to consider them. On the other side we have *both* to settle mens consciences on. 1. Examples of Scripture, *sc.* The peoples rescue of *Jonathan*: *Davids* armie against the cut-throats of *Saul*, that is, subversive Instruments: These being particular men, and in an absolute Monarchie proove the point the more strongly, so strongly that the Doctor is faine to flie to that *ordinary* evasion, of an *extraordinarie priviledge*. Besides all those places which prove it lawfull to resist private men, seeking to subvert Lawes and Religion, and the publike good; sith in a limited State they are but private men, though backed

backed with a Commiſſion from the Kings will and pleaſure. 2. Then for Reaſon; I have ſet downe five, *p.*53. all unanſwerably concluding the point in Queſtion, as I doubt not the conſiderate Reader will acknowledge.

He profeſſes, p.12. *That it was never his intent to plead for abſoluteneſſe of Power in the King, if by abſoluteneſſe of Power be meant a Power of Arbitrary Command.* What his intent is I know not, but he hath fully done the thing, or I have no underſtanding to ſee when a thing is done. In the precedent Section, he reſolves all caſes into the *Arbitrium Regis*, the meere pleaſure of the King: allowing the Houſes of Parliament only a power of ſtaying the hands of deſtroyers, till it be expreſſely knowne whether it be the Kings *pleaſure* they ſhall be deſtroyed: And I am confident the meaneſt apprehenſion will diſcerne, that they who make the Monarchs ſole Will the laſt judge of all controverſies: and ſimply deny in the laſt caſe of ſubverſion, all Power of Reſiſtance of Inſtruments, even to the ſupreame Courts of Law and juſtice, doe without any controverſie, reſolve all government into an Arbitrarie Abſolutenſſe. He adds, *We allow a diſtinction of Monarchies and admit the Government of Kingdomes to be of divers kinds, and acknowledge a legall reſtraint upon the Power of the Monarch in this Kingdome. Verba datis, rem negatis*; you allow indeed a kind of *diſtinction of Monarchies*, but all within the compaſſe of *Abſolute*: *A legall reſtraint* you ſeeme to acknowledge; but ſuch an one as reſolves into the Arbitrary Will of the Monarch, as I have made it appeare in my former Treatiſe; and you will never be able to wipe off by this, or any other Reply. Then he promiſes that in this Booke certaine points *Will appeare to be truth, agreeable to Scripture and Reaſon*: ſc. *That Government is not the invention of man, but the inſtitution of God*: *That Governours have their Power not from the people, but from God*: *That Governing Power is one and the ſame in all ſupreames, and can only be limited in the exerciſe. And that where a Prince ſtands ſupreme, and next to God above all the people, there the Subiects may not take armes and make forceable reſiſtance for any exorbitances.* Theſe ſeverall Propoſitions how farre they contain Truth, and how far not, I ſhall in the ſequell make appear.

After theſe great promiſes, he proceeds, *p.*13. to ſpeake ſomewhat of the *Originall* of Governing Power: and accuſeth me as if *I ſeemed to* Sect. 3.
affirme it to be from God; but in the proceſſe of my booke, he finds me deriving it indeed from the people. I perceiving two contrary opinions

concerning the Originall of Government, did in that Treatise endeavour to reconcile them, and to shew in what sence both are true. To that end, as there is manifest, p 4. I distinguished 3 things. ' It's *constitution*; ' It's *Limitation* to one kind. ' It's *determination* to one individuall Person and Family. The first of these I did affirme to be *from God*: The two latter *from Men*, and then concluded, *In these things we have Doctour Fernes consent.* Let us see what exceptions he can take at this peaceable assay of Reconcilement. *In the processe of my Discourse he findes me deriving it from the people.* What then? Doe I denie it thereby to be from God? as if *Subordinates did exclude one another.* God hath ordained that Powers should *be*: People by vertue of that Ordinance give them *existence* in this or that *kind* and *subiect.* The Doctor acknowledges all this, but *not in my sence*, p.14. He grants the *Designation of the Person, and the Limitation of the Power to severall kinds to be from the consent of the People.* I say no more; why doe we not then agree? The plaine truth is, The Doctor will not have *Limitation of Power* to be at all from the people, what ever he pretends: How then the Limitation of the Power to severall kinds is from the people, as the Doctor yeelds, I cannot tell. Is not Limitation of it into kinds, Limitation of the Power it selfe? But he is possessed that *my sound sence is another sence from his*; what other he doth not shew: but it is another which he likes not. Why? ' *Because sometimes I say, the people reserve a Power to oppose or displace the Magistrate: Sometime they divest themselves of all superiority.* ' Tis true, I say so, but withall I say, that when they reserve such a Power, they constitute no Monarchy. Is it not so, in the highest Ministers of Power in Aristocracies and Democracies? What can he say against so apparent a Truth? 2. *I call them*, p.63. *Architectonicall* Powers. This he derides and saies, *This is the riddle of this Governing Power originally in the people. They are Architectonicall Powers, but build upon foundations laid in the aire*, p. 14. Then he gives his reason, *For before Government established they have not any politique Power, Whereby a Command may be laid upon others, but only a naturall power of private resistance.* This is false, that they have *onely* a naturall power of private Resistance. They have indeed no *formall* politique power, for we speake of a people free from all government; but they have a *virtuall radicall power*, by publike consent and contract to constitute this or that forme of Government, and resigne up themselves to a condition of subjection on *Termes* and after a *form*

of

of their owne constitution; so the *Athenians*, *Lacedemonians* and *Romans* of old having expelled their Kings: and the *United Provinces*, with others of latter times have done: This is that which I called *Architectonicall Power*; and the Replier vainly carpes at the name, when he cannot denie the thing. But I know what he aimes at in all this, *sc.* That Gods Ordinance is an absolute boundlesse Power in all Supremes, uncapable of any limitation, but in the exercise. Of which fully afterwards.

Sect. 4. At length *He takes a nearer view of the Formes of Monarchie, spoken of by me, and makes a few observations upon such particulars as him pleaseth*, p. 14. Let us follow his steps. First, for Absolute Monarchie, whereas I say it is, *When Soveraignty is so fully in one, that it hath no limitation under God, but the Monarches owne Will.* He approoves my description; but threatens *to remember it below*, p. 15. Let him doe so; and make his best advantage of it, only here he cannot forbeare one note, that then it is not the deniall of resistance which makes a Monarch absolute; but the deniall of a law to bound his Will. I doe grant it; but with all I say, that it is *necessario consequutivum*, though it be not *constitutivum*: for sith a Monarch which is obsolute hath no Law to bound his Will; but his very Will is the Subjects Law, then every act of his Will is Gods Ordinance, and so by consequence it is unresistible. Also, p. 15. He allowes it, when I say, *A limited Monarch is he who hath a Law besides his owne Will for the measure of his power.* But yet he dislikes that I say, *He must be limited in the Power it selfe, and not only in the exercise*; and I added a reason, *for an Absolute Monarch may stint himselfe in the exercise of his Power, and yet remaine absolute.* What saies he to this? *True, if such a Monarch limit himself and reserve a Power to vary,---but if he fix a Law with promise not to varie, then in those cases he is limited.* Note the fraud of this *Replier*, he alters his terms and puts things as opposite which are not so: He should say, if he limit himselfe, and *reserve a power to varie*; then he is absolute; but if he limit himselfe and *reserve no Power to varie* (for then the opposition is direct) then he is limited. But in stead of saying (*and reserve no power to varie*) he saies, but [*if he promise not to vary*] I say that *promise not to vary*, if it be a *simple promise* of not varying, it doth not make him limited in his Power, any more then *morally*, and so every Absolute Monarch is limited. I affirme still, it is Limitation of the *Power it selfe*, not barely of the *exercise*, which constitutes a Limited Monarch: for Monarchy is a state of Power, and therefore it's *specificative* distinction:

on must be from something which distinguisheth Powers, and not the exercise of Powers; but this is enough proved in the 5ᵗ page of that Treatise.

Secondly, he blames me for that *I suppose a Limited Monarch must be radically, that is, originally invested with such a measure of limited Power, and that limited,* ab externo, *and not from the free determination of his owne Will.* Here he adds *originally* of his owne: that so he might seeme to finde a contradiction, when I afterward say, that it may be done by *originall constitution,* or by *after condescent*; but yet he confesseth, *I have a salve, When I make it such a condescent, as is equivalent to an Originall Constitution, because amounting to a change of Title, and a resolution in the Monarch to be subjected to, no other way.* I make no *salve,* nor doe I need any; he who weighes the Uniformity of Truth in that Treatise will see it needs no salves: Onely I distinguish those things which are in their natures distinct, which if the Doctour had done, this Contention either had not been begun, or would soon have an end: Who sees not that a *Promise,* whereby a Monarch may bind himselfe may either be with a *limitation* of the bond of subjection, or *without:* And that this makes a reall difference; for *in this* the Government remaines the same, because the Dutie of subjection received no variation; but *in that* there is for so much a *Transitus* into a limited condition. But these things cannot be more fully and clearly expressed then they are in the page 13. of that Treatise. But he answers, *Where there is such a change of Title, it is done at once, and by expresse and notorious resignation of former Power; but it is not necessary that an absolute Monarch should come to a limited Condition after that manner.* I say, if he will passe into a limited condition, it is necessary there be a limitation of his Power, else he is not truly limited: But that all such limitation be done *at once and by notorious resignation,* it is not necessary, as will appeare afterward where this matter of *Limitation* is more distinctly handled.

Sect. 5. His next complaint is against something I have in the page 25. *sc.* That in a mixed Government (if it be of three) the Soveraign Power must be in all three originally, and from fundamentall constitution. *He judges this not necessary, p. 17.* and he gives a wonderfull Reason: For as *Limitation may be only of the exercise of the Power, and not of the Power it selfe; so mixture is in regard of Persons ioyned to the Monarch for certain acts and purposes; but that they should have any share in the Soveraign power,*

the

the nature of Monarchy will not admit. 1. Juſt ſo; for as a Monarchy is not limited unleſſe there be a limitation of Power, for Monarchy is a Power; ſo a Monarchy cannot be mixed, unleſſe there be a mixture of Powers, for Monarchy is a Power; and to ſay a mixt Monarchy, and yet the Power not mixt, is to ſpeake contradictories. 2. If the mixture be not of divers concurrent Powers; wherof is it? He tells us, *of the Monarch and certaine other Perſons joyned with him for certaine acts and purpoſes.* Theſe joyned Perſons, have they any concurring Power to doe thoſe acts for which they are joyned? If not; then the adjoyning is futulous and vaine, and the Power of Monarchy is mixed of a Perſon having Power, and of others having no Power to doe that for which they are joyned. You will ſay, They have Power, but not diſtinct from that of the Monarch: that is, they have none; for in mixture, if it be not diſtinct, it is none at all. Againe if they have any, it muſt be diſtinct, for ſubordinate it cannot be; if the Acts to which they concurre be ſupreme Acts, unleſſe we ſhould be ſo abſurd as to ſay, They may concurre to ſupreme Acts, by a ſubordinate Power. But let us ſee, what a maine Reaſon he hath for averring a conceit ſubject to ſuch abſurdities. *Such a mixture would make ſeverall independent powers in the ſame State or Kingdome, which is moſt abſurd.* I grant it is abſurd, if he ſpeake of ſeverall *complete* independent powers; but to affirme ſeverall *incomplete* independent powers concurring to make up one *integrall* mixt power, it is no abſurdity at all, for ſo it is, in all *Ariſtocracies* and *Democracies*, and muſt be acknowledged in all *mixed* States, where the ſupremacie is not wholy in the hands of one perſon. Yet here we doe not ſo make them *independent*, but that we give a large predominancie to One, as, *in nature*, in all mixed bodies there is, as I have at large explained my ſelfe in the next Section, if the Doctor had been at leaſure to have taken notice of it. I yeild to that which he ſayes, p. 17. *that it is not neceſſary the Mixture ſhould be ſo Originall, but that it may alſo come afterwards by condeſcent*: It matters not, ſo it be originall, that is, *radicall*: of *Powers*, and not of *meere Acts*: And indeed, there cannot be a mixture of *Acts*, unleſſe it be alſo of *Powers*: for *Acts* are from *Powers*: and where *Powers* are ſubordinate, there can be no mixture in their *Acts*; the Acts of cauſes ſubordinate, are alſo ſubordinate, and not coordinate and mixed. But I there brought two Arguments to prove that *in a Mixed Government, the Concurrents muſt have independent*

dependent and distinct Powers. Let us see how he answers them. 1. *Because else it would be no mixture, but a derivation of Power, which is seen in the most simple Monarchy.* He answers, that *derivation* of Power is either upon *substitute Officers* supplying the absence of the Monarch in the execution of Power: and this is in the most simple Monarchy. Or else *upon Persons whose concurrence and consent is required to certaine Acts of Monarchicall Power; and this makes a mixture, though they have no share in the Power it selfe,* p. 17. I answer, 1. Absence or presence of the Monarch; whether they Act for him, or with him, varies not the case, If the Power they work by be derived from him, then it is his Power, and so constitutes no Mixture. 2. As if in the most simple Monarchy, the Soveraigne doth manage the *ardua imperij*, the weightiest matters of State alone; and not by consent of his Counsell; without whom he is *morally* bound, (that is, on the sinne of rashnesse) not to transact them, and that is all, which the Doctor yeilds to the Houses of Parliament, *&c.* that the King is *morally* bound to their concurrence and consent in *certaine Acts.* This is nothing but the shadow of a Mixture; If the Power of Acting be so in one, that, if he please, he may doe those Acts without the concurrence of those adjunct Persons, though he ought not, it is no Mixture, because the Power is simple and One; and mixed Acts cannot flow from one simple Power. This the Doctor sees, and therefore sayes, *If this Author will not call this a Mixture, We cannot help it,* p. 18. We doe not enquire of *Names*, but of *things*; nor whether it make a difference in Government or no; We treat of a *Mixt Government*: and, I think, no man of common sense will affirme, that a Government can be really mixed, and yet the Power be simple. 2. *Because the End of Mixture (which is Effectuall Limitation) cannot be had by a derivate Power.* He answers; *Though a Derivate Power cannot set new bounds to the Soveraigne Power, yet may it stand to keep in a legall way those bounds which the soveraigne Power hath set to it selfe.* Observe, He dares not to say, They *may keep*: but only *stand to keep*; nor *stand* neither, but by *advice*; that is *morally*: If he will exceed those bounds, the Act is valid, and hath all its Authority without them: Only he sins, if he doe so; because he hath promised he would not doe it without them: Here's excellent Limitation and Confinement from exorbitancies: A bare *promise*, without such adoe, in constituting *States* and *Mixtures*, would be altogether as good a

bounds;

bounds; but of this we shall have more occasion to speake afterward.

In the close of this Section he turnes back to the *p.* 21. of my book, and hath somewhat to say to my Assertions about Monarchy by conquest. There first I say, *If the invasion be made upon pretence of Title, and the pretender doth prevaile, it is not Conquest properly, but a Vindication of a Title: and then the Government is such as the Title is by which he claimed.* He tells us, *He sees no injustice in it, if such a one having prevailed should use such a people as a Conquerour*, p. 19. The Lord keep us from this mans justice. What; No injustice? If the Pretenders Title allowed by a great part of the people, he by their aide subdues the rest, shall he for their labour crush them into servitude, and use the power of a Conquerour, without injustice? 2. Suppose the people not convinced of the right of his Title make at first some opposition; but yet the pretence of his Title, and apprehension that he seekes no more power then his Title imports, work a yeilding disposition in them, so that they withstand not so universally, nor so long as they might have done; but at length submit to him on his pretended termes: were it not high injustice to take advantage on such a people, and having them under hatches to desert those termes on which they yeilded, and use the full right of a Conquerour: This was Englands case with Duke *William*. But the maine thing which sticks by him is something I have delivered, p. 23. *It is an uncontrolable truth in policie, that the consent of the people, either by themselves or their Ancestours, is the only meane in ordinary providence, by which soveraignty is conferred upon any person or family.* Against this he is very angry; and opposeth it in many words; but to my Argument from the Morall bond of subjection, he sayes nothing at all. He termes it *good policie, but bad divinity*, p. 20. And sets up an *Antiposition*, that *When the invading Prince has perfectly subdued a people (there being no heyre to whom they are bound) and hath setled and constituted a frame of Government, then providence doth sufficiently discover it selfe, and such a people ought to submit and take this Prince as set over them by the hand of providence.* As if these two were contrary: I say, *They are not bound untill they consent:* He sayes, in such a case *they are bound to consent*, because then providence discovers it selfe: And he brings *Calvin* at large to prove that which none denies: I grant a people (not preobliged,) fully overcome should much sin against Gods *providence* by obstinacie, if on a meere will, they consent not to reasonable Sect. 6.

termes of subjection: But this I say, There is no morall obligation to Authority, before that consent bind them: Conquest may be an *Antecedent cause*; but the *immediate and formall cause* is only the consent of the people; which he cannot say against; for that must be *morall*, and not meerely *violent*. The call of providence challengeth a contented submission, if there be no reason hindring it; but if a precedent Oath or some other sound reason intervene, then it is no call requiring submission: Neither can the fullest conquest make a people debtors, but they remaine free from any morall bond; for the providence of God being of it selfe externall, can induce no morall state; but that providence which on one discovery calls to a submission: on a like discovery may free them againe, if nothing else come between, to render them morally bound: A Travellour, by the providence of God shut up into the hands of a Robber, hath his life and protection promised him in his journey, if he will promise to pay him so much money: I say, this Travailor should sin against his own life, and the providence of God, offering him those termes, if obstinately he refuse submission: Yet no man will say he owes the robber so much money, because he hath him at his mercy, untill he by promise make himselfe a debtor: Thus have I made good that *maxime* of mine to be *an uncontrouleable Truth, good Policie, and good Divinity too*; maugre all the Doctor hath or can say against it.

Chap. IV.

Wherein the vanity and falshood of the suppos'als whereon the Doctor hath built all his discourses is made appeare.

Sect. 1. After a scattered gleaning of passages in the former Sections, the Doctor undertakes the two great Questions. 1. Of the *Constitution* of this Monarchy, in his Sect. 4. 2. Of *Resistence*, in the remainder of his book. Which two, we should now immediately pursue; but that another work more conducent to the ending of this contention will for a while divert me.

Errour in the search of controverted truths doth more often arise from the *judgement*, then from the *reason*: Men doe more offend in laying false grounds; then in deducing false inferences from true grounds; This I have observed in the Doctors bookes: He truly argues, but from false principles; and then the superstructure must needs be unwerable, so that, overthrow his foundations, and then all his building

ding will of it ſelfe ruine into apparent falſhood. I confeſſe he every where ſayes the ſame of my Grounds, on which I have built that Treatiſe: He cals them *falſe* and *groundleſſe ſuppoſals*, and *fancies*, and what elſe he pleaſeth: I will therefore make him a fayre offer: Let us make a ſhort work of it: let us joyne iſſue upon our *ſuppoſals*, on which both our diſcourſes are built.

This Doctors *ſuppoſals* which he ſcarce ever makes ſhew to prove and on which he hath built his *Reſolves* and *Diſcourſes* I doubt not to call *unſound* and *falſe*: and doe profeſſe the contrary to be my grounds whoſe truth I will maintaine. His may be reduced to foure heads. 1. Concerning the *Ordinance of God in Soveraignty*. 2. Concerning the *Nature* and *Quality* of *Limitation*. 3. The *Meanes and cauſes of Limitation*. 4. The *Conſtitution* of this Monarchy. And according to this order we will take them into examination.

Of Gods ordinance in ſupremacie.

Firſt, Of the *Ordinance of God in Magiſtracy*, He proceeds on two falſe principles. 1. That *the Governing power is one and the ſame which God gives and ſettles upon the perſon that is ſupreme*, p.13. that is, it is abſolute and unlimited in the power it ſelfe; and may be limited only in the exerciſe thereof, *p.17*. 2. Which followes from the former, that *Conſent of people may be the meane of deſigning the perſon, and yeilding ſubjection to him, who elſe could not challenge it more then an other man; alſo a meane of limiting that power in the exerciſe of it; but not the meaſure of the power it ſelfe, which in ſuch a meaſure is given of God to all Soveraignes*, p.41. ſo then; let this be the Queſtion, *Whether it be Gods Ordinance that Governing power in all Soveraignes be one unlimited thing; and can receive no meaſure from the people?* The Doctor affirmes it; and *p.84*. tells us he hath *often inſinuated it*; but he ſhould once directly prove it, if he be able, ſo he might have preſcribed to the whole controverſie; for if he can make this good, in vaine doe we enquire about the *conſtitution* of this Monarchy; or the lawfulneſſe of *reſiſtance* of ſubverſive inſtruments of the Princes will. Doth he think a covert *inſinuation* would ſerve the turne to impoſe ſuch an Aſſertion, which fruſtrates the intent of mankind in framing limitations of Governing power; and captives all into an abſolute *paſſive ſubjection* to the vileſt inſtruments of the will of him who is ſupreme? In all his *reply* I find but two places which have any ſhew of proofe of this overbold Aſſertion. One is p.14. *Before Government eſtabliſhed the people have not any power of a communitie*

Queſtion propoſed.

or politick power whereby a command may be laid upon others; but only a naturall power of private resistance. The other is p. 42. *The people have not of themselves out of Government, the maine power, the power of life and death, how then can they give it either for Government, or reserve it for Resistance?* Here be weake foundations to build such an Assertion, and three such insulting books on. What a nothing this is, I shall make appeare anon.

Question stated. Now I hold the *Negative* of this Question; and doubt not to approve it firme truth: To that end, first I will premise such things as we agree in, that so the point in question may the more distinctly appeare. Which I apprehend are or may be these. 1. *That Governing power is originally from Gods Ordinance.* 2. *That it being so, is unresistible in its whole latitude, in all the acts which flow from it.* This the Apostle is cleare for, *Rom.* 13. and for no more, that I know. Also that this is true as well in Limited as Absolute Governments; *v. g.* In absolute Monarchy, where Authority doth invest the *whole Will*; the Monarch is unresistible in all the acts of his reasonable *Will*; because all are acts flowing from Gods Ordinance. So in limited Monarchy, where Authority doth not simply invest the *Will* of a Monarch, but so far forth as it is regulated by such a law, the Monarch is unresistible in all the acts of his will which are according to that law; because they are acts flowing from Gods Ordinance: Yea though either of these doe limit himselfe in the *exercise* of his power, no way thereby diminishing the fulnesse of his power; and afterward exceed those limits, yet he is unresistible, and to be subjected to *actively* in lawfull things, and *passively* in unlawfull: my reason is, because even those acts, notwithstanding limitation, flow from Gods Ordinance of Authority, which remaines the same, and not lessened by such limitation. 3. *This governing power is ordinarily conveyed to persons by publick consent,* which is a point made good in my former Treatise, and in the former chapter hereof. 4. *That this publick consent is not only a meane, but hath a causall influence in conveying Authority to persons.* 5. *That men working by such consent as second causes, doe necessarily convey such Authority, as God hath ordained*; so that, if it can be proved either by Scripture or sound reason, that it is Gods ordinance, that supremacie should be unlimited, and as large as all the acts of his will which hath it, then whatever men capitulate about limitation of it, is vaine, so that the Doctor need prove only that point; and for my part I will give him the cause.

6. *Limitation*

6. *Limitation of Power may be either of Acts*, when Power is conveyed to Persons to doe certaine Acts of Power; but not all. Or else of *Manner of working*; when Power is conveyed to doe all Acts of Authority, but according to such a prescribed Rule. Now I grant the former cannot be in the conveyance of Soveraigne Power, an inferiour Officer may be limited by commission to certaine acts of Power; and have no Authority to do other Acts of power; but when Soveraignty is conveyed, and the Person is set up *next to God, above all the people*, as the Doctour saith. He must have an unlimited Power in respect of Acts of Government: for Gods Ordinance is not onely that there should be *Power* for such an end; sc. a *Peaceable life in godlinesse and honestie*; but *sufficiencie of Power* for the attainment of that end: So that all Power of doing any Act needfull for that end, must be in him who is supreme, and the comprehensive Head of Power to inferiour Magistrates. So that all the Question truly stated is about the other sort of Limitation, sc. *Whether Soveraigne Power be so limited in its Rule of Acting, that it inveseth the Whole Reasonable Will of him who hath it*: So that all the acts which proceed from him who hath it according to the rule of his owne Reason, be *potestative*, and from Gods Ordinance.

Secondly, having thus punctually stated the Question, the Determination must proceed in a double way, sc. 1. *In simple Governments*, 2. *In mixed Governments*. I do maintain the *Negative* in both: and my proof shall be formed accordingly. Question determined.

First then, *In simple Government, Power is not one Unlimited thing in the supreme*: But may be limited in the very being and root of it. *Assert.* 1.

1. The cause or meane by which alone it is conveyed, if it bestow or convey only a limited Power, then it is limited in the very *Being* of it. For there can be no more then is conveyed: Now we know, the people by their publike act of consent and compact, may either bind themselves to a full subjection to the Monarchs Will guided by his owne Reason; or by some constituted rule or law set him to governe by; which latter if they doe, then is his Authority radically limited: For they owing no more subjection; He can have no farther Power. *Reas.* 1.

2. If soveraignty may be so limited, that Active Obedience is not due to the commands which exceed those limits, but may lawfully be denied to them (as the Doctour acknowledges it may, p. 16.) Then it may be limited in the Power it selfe: For in such case the Power *Reas.* 2.

or politick power whereby a command may be laid upon others; but only a naturall power of private resistance. The other is p. 42. *The people have not of themselves out of Government, the maine power, the power of life and death, how then can they give it either for Government, or reserve it for Resistance?* Here be weake foundations to build such an Assertion, and three such insulting books on. What a nothing this is, I shall make appeare anon.

Question stated. Now I hold the *Negative* of this Question; and doubt not to approve it firme truth: To that end, first I will premise such things as we agree in, that so the point in question may the more distinctly appeare. Which I apprehend are or may be these. 1. *That Governing power is originally from Gods Ordinance.* 2. *That it being so, is unresistible in its whole latitude, in all the acts which flow from it.* This the Apostle is cleare for, *Rom.* 13. and for no more, that I know. Also that this is true as well in Limited as Absolute Governments; *v. g.* In absolute Monarchy, where Authority doth invest the *whole will*; the Monarch is unresistible in all the acts of his reasonable *will*; because all are acts flowing from Gods Ordinance. So in limited Monarchy, where Authority doth not simply invest the *will* of a Monarch, but so far forth as it is regulated by such a law, the Monarch is unresistible in all the acts of his will which are according to that law; because they are acts flowing from Gods Ordinance: Yea though either of these doe limit himselfe in the *exercise* of his power, no way thereby diminishing the fulnesse of his power; and afterward exceed those limits, yet he is unresistible, and to be subjected to *actively* in lawfull things, and *passively* in unlawfull: my reason is, because even those acts, notwithstanding limitation, flow from Gods Ordinance of Authority, which remaines the same, and not lessened by such limitation. 3. *This governing power is ordinarily conveyed to persons by publick consent,* which is a point made good in my former Treatise, and in the former chapter hereof. 4. *That this publick consent is not only a meane, but hath a causall influence in conveying Authority to persons.* 5. *That men working by such consent as second causes, doe necessarily convey such Authority, as God hath ordained*; so that if it can be proved either by Scripture or sound reason, that it is Gods ordinance, that supremacie should be unlimited, and as large as all the acts of his will which hath it, then whatever men capitulate about limitation of it, is vaine, so that the Doctor need prove only that point; and for my part I will give him the cause.

6. *Limitation*

6. *Limitation of Power may be either of Acts,* when Power is conveyed to Perſons to doe certaine Acts of Power; but not all. Or elſe of *Manner of working*; when Power is conveyed to doe all Acts of Authority, but according to ſuch a preſcribed Rule. Now I grant the former cannot be in the conveyance of Soveraigne Power, an inferiour Officer may be limited by commiſſion to certaine acts of Power; and have no Authority to do other Acts of power; but when Soveraignty is conveyed, and the Perſon is ſet up *next to God, above all the people,* as the Doctour ſaith. He muſt have an unlimited Power in reſpect of Acts of Government: for Gods Ordinance is not onely that there ſhould be *Power* for ſuch an end; ſc. a *Peaceable life in godlineſſe and honeſtie*; but *ſufficiencie of Power* for the attainment of that end: So that all Power of doing any Act needfull for that end, muſt be in him who is ſupreme, and the comprehenſive Head of Power to inferiour Magiſtrates. So that all the Queſtion truly ſtated is about the other ſort of Limitation, ſc. *Whether Soveraigne Power be ſo unlimited in its Rule of Acting, that it inveſteth the Whole Reaſonable Will of him who hath it*: So that all the acts which proceed from him who hath it according to the rule of his owne Reaſon, be *poteſtative*, and from Gods Ordinance.

Secondly, having thus punctually ſtated the Queſtion, the Determination muſt proceed in a double way, ſc. 1. *In ſimple Governments.* 2. *In mixed Governments.* I do maintain the *Negative* in both: and my proof ſhall be formed accordingly. Queſtion determined.

Firſt then, *In ſimple Government, Power is not one Unlimited thing in the ſupreme:* But may be limited in the very being and root of it. *Aſſert.* 1.

1. The cauſe or meane by which alone it is conveyed, if it beſtow or convey only a limited Power, then it is limited in the very *Being* of it. For there can be no more then is conveyed: Now we know, the people by their publike act of conſent and compact, may either bind themſelves to a full ſubjection to the Monarchs Will guided by his owne Reaſon; or by ſome conſtituted role or law ſet him to governe by; which latter if they doe, then is his Authority radically limited: For they owing no more ſubjection; He can have no farther Power. *Reaſ.* 1.

2. If ſoveraignty may be ſo limited, that Active Obedience is not due to the commands which exceed thoſe limits, but may lawfully be denied to them (as the Doctour acknowledges it may, *p.* 16.) Then it may be limited in the Power it ſelfe: For in ſuch caſe the Power *Reaſ.* 2.

exceeds not the limitation; for if the exceeding Acts were *poteſtativi*, we owe Active ſubjection to them, in as much as they are the Ordinance of God, to which *in omnibus non prohibitis*, Active ſubjection is due.

Reaſ.3. 3. If Power in the ſupreme be ſuch, that it cannot be limited, then either becauſe it is *Gods Ordinance*; or elſe becauſe it is *ſupreme*: but its being *Gods Ordinance* hinders not; for we ſee, *Rom.* 13. All Powers as well ſupreme, as ſubordinate are Gods Ordinance, yet ſubordinate Powers may be limited, not only in the *Rule of Acting*, but in the *kind of Acts*; as none can denie. Neither its being *ſupreme* doth hinder its limitableneſſe; indeed, as before it hinders it from being capable of confinement, in the *kind of Acts*: but *in the meaſure or rule of working*, it doth not hinder, in as much as a Soveraigne Power may as well attaine its end, by being confined to another Law from without, as by the Law of its own Reaſon, if not much better; alſo we no where finde Gods Word making any difference or giving power to confine ſubordinate Powers; but forbidding it of Soveraignes,

Reaſ.4. 4. That is to be granted, which denied makes all Soveraignes arbitrary, and of equall Power; but to affirme that Power is one, unlimited, and inveſting all the Acts of the Soveraignes Will doth ſo, for then is ſoveraignty arbitrary, not when it hath no *morall* bounds, for then none were or could be arbitrary; but when Power is ſo fully in one that every Act of his *Arbitrium* or Will is *Poteſtative* and ſove-

Reaſ.5. raigne. 5. I have the judgement of all the Reformed Churches and Divines in *Germany*, *France*, *Belgia*, *Scotland*, on my part; who have both allowed and actually uſed forceable Reſiſtance againſt ſubverſive Inſtruments of their Soveraignes Will; yea our owne famous Princes *Elizabeth*, *James*, and our preſent *Soveraigne*, both by edicts, and Aſſiſtance have juſtified the ſame: which they would not have done, had they been perſwaded of ſuch an unlimited Ordinance of God inveſting all the Acts of the Will of him who is ſupreme. So that by all this it appears that the Doctors conceit of ſuch an unlimited Ordinance of God, which he brings not a tittle of Gods word to prove, is a meere *chimera* and groundleſſe conceit.

Object. Now the onely difficulty, which I can thinke on, is this. Gods Ordinance in ſoveraignty, as before, is not onely *Power* to ſuch an end; but *ſufficiencie* of Power to the effection of that end: now a limited Power ſeemeth not to be ſufficient for the end of Government, becauſe there are two Powers neceſſary to the end of Government, *ſc.* Power

of

of *making* and authentique *Interpreting* of Laws, which are not consistent with a Limitation of Power.

I answer: It is true of Limitation in respect of *Acts*; and therefore *Sol.* I averre, that such a Limitation cannot be where Power is *supreme*: but for Limitation to a *Rule* and defined way of Working, I cannot see how it with-stands the end of Government: So that supposing Power of *making* and *Interpreting* Laws be necessary to the end of Government, yet that they be Absolutely resident in him who is supreme, *&c.* To *make Lawes* and *Interprete* Lawes authoritatively without being bound to follow any Light or Rule therin, but his owne Reason is not necessary to the end of Government: In these Acts a *regulated* Power is enough in the *most simple State*, &c. a Power to *make* new Lawes, if any be needfull; and *Interpreting* the old, if ambiguous, according to the Rule of the former established Laws; and by the advise of his learned Counsell and Judges of his supreme Courts of Justice. We see in matters spirituall, there is no Legislative Power resident, to ordain or give authentique sense: in matters *de fide*, yet the Church stands well enough; one standing Rule of Scripture being sufficient with a *ministeriall Interpretation*: So it is probable a State might, by a complete standing Rule of Law, and a Ministeriall Power of Interpretation, were there no Legislative Power resident in any Supreme Magistrate thereof.

But the matter is farre more cleare in a *mixed Government*; so that *Assert.* were it necessary in a *simple* Government, that the Supreme should be unlimited in his Power, yet in a *Mixed* (which is enough for us in this Kingdome) evidently it is not so: And to make this appeare, I will lay downe three grounds. 1. Such a Government may be established that the supreme Power may be placed in many persons, either of the same, or divers condition, that is, in a mixed Subject: else all formes were unlawfull except simple Monarchie. 2. If this supreame Power be inequally placed in these Persons or States of men; so that a reall sublimity and Principality be given to *one*, then the denomination may be taken from that Principall: and so it is a Monarchy, or Aristocracy, or Democracy *mixed* in the *Power it selfe*; however it pleaseth this Replier to deride it, with *the top*, or *Crowne of the head*: of which more hereafter. 3. Where the Supremacy of power is thus in many, although all taken together have an unlimited Power, as in ours, yet neither of them severall by himselfe hath, or

can

can have; for it is a contradiction, that it be resident in *many*, and yet unlimitedly in *One*.

Now to those two shewes of Argument, which in the beginning I produced out of this Reply, I say, before Government be established it is true the people have no *formall Politique Power* of Life and Death; yet they have a *seminall*; that is, every one for himselfe, his family and posterity hath a power of resigning up their naturall liberty, to be governed by One, or many; after this or that forme as they shall judge fittest. God ordaining that Powers should be to such an end, hath thereby legitimated and ratified any Consent or Contract which people may make of parting with their liberty and giving Magistrates a common Power over them to that end. And Gods not prescribing any *Rule* or *Measure* of Power by his Ordinance of Authority, hath left it in the peoples liberty, to resigne up themselves according to such Rule and Termes, as they judge fittest, so it be such as the end of his Ordinance may be attained thereby. Thus although by it selfe, and excluding Gods Ordinance they have no immediate Power to lay a command on others, nor Power of life and death, yet in vertue of Gods Ordinance their common consent and contract is sufficient to set up such a Power which is endowed with a sufficiency of Command for *Government* and the *end of Government* over those which have, each man for himselfe and his, set it up. So although *second Causes* have no Power by themselves to produce their effects; yet working in vertue of the *first Cause* they have Power to produce effects, sometimes farre beyond their own Measure. Therefore I desire this Doctour either to bring some *Ordinance of God* expressely forbidding to set any *bounds* or *Rule* of Power upon the *Will* of the Magistrate; or else let him suffer Man-kind to use their *Right* in resigning up that liberty which God and nature hath given them upon such termes and conditions as they apprehend best for their own good: and the due end of Government.

Summe. In the close of this Question, I will lay downe three Conclusions concerning the *Ordinance of God*, and *the Nature of Soveraignetie*.

Conclus. 1 1. *God hath ordained that in Societies of Men there should be a Politike Power, for a peaceable and godly life:* This Ordinance hath put a *Seminall Power* in all the Societies of Men, sc. a Liberty and Power by common Consent to resigne up themselves and theirs to one Supreame; thereby constituting a *common Politique Power*.

2. God

2. *God in his Ordinance for Government having not determined any kind or forme of Power; hath left it to the libertie of Societies of men to choose to which kind they will resigne up themselves,* either to a supreme regulated in the Acts of his Will by his *owne Reason,* as in absolute Government; or to one regulated by a *Common Reason* or Law constituted by publike consent, as in Limited. Conclus. 2

3. *God in his Ordinance for Government having not determined the subject of this Power, hath left it to the choice of Societies to invest with this Soveraigntie, either one Person or many, and those either of the same, or divers sorts and rankes of men*; Whence arise simple or mixed Governments, and this is the *Architectonicall Power* left in societies before they are engaged in a Government, which the Doctour doth so causlesly deride: Here is the summe of what I do averre concerning *Gods Ordinance in Soveraigntie,* which I challenge the Doctour or any else to gain-say. Conclus. 3

The second sort of the Doctors false suppofals respect the *Nature* and *Quality of Limitation,* where also I observe that he proceeds on two false and fallacious Principles, *sc.* 1. He every where confounds *Morall* and *Civill* or *Legall* Limitation, so *p.* 18. 93. 39. 2. That Soveraignty is capable onely of a *morall* Limitation, *p.* 39, 42., So that if any other be in any State ordained, *He cannot beleeve but such a condition is unlawfull, and unreasonable against the Order of Government. p.* 39. If the nature of *Limitation* be well knowne, it will appeare that the Doctor hath done very inconsiderately, or rather very fraudulently (for he hath obscured the Truth much by it) in confounding *morall* and *Civill Limitation.* We will therefore consider the nature of *Limitation* something more accurately then I have done in my former Treatise; for it will be a great light to the whole controversie. Sect. 2. Of nature and Quality of Limitation.

First, We must consider a distinction of Power, which is either, *A simple Power of Willing* or Doing, which is in every Morall Agent. 2. *A Power of Authoritative* and *obligatorie Willing* or Doing; so that an act of it, whether a *Will* of *Command* or *Censure* expressed, hath in it a binding power to subjection, this is that which we call *Magistracy,* of whose Limitation now we treat. Pos. 1.

Secondly, concerning *Limitation*; we must know that it induceth an absolute *necessity* of not producing any Act beyond those Limits. For a Power having bounds beyond which it can exceed, if it please, though with difficulty, it is not properly *limited,* but *hindred.* 2.

3. Thirdly, This *necessity* of not exceeding those bounds is such as the *bounds* themselves are; so that it is ever true, *That a Power in what way it is limited cannot exceed those limits.*

4. Of Moral limits. Fourthly, There are of this Power but two sorts of Limits, *sc.* 1. *Morall*, and 2. *Civill* or Politique. Of which two we must distinctly consider. 1. *Morall Limits* is the Morall Will or *Law of God*; and a Power is said to be limited by this, not when it cannot produce any Act at all: but when it cannot *morally* produce it, that is, *Without sin.* For the supervening of a morall bond, doth not take away the *Power of doing*, but of right or *sinlesse doing*: *v. g.* in *Naturall Powers.* Gods prohibition of eating Swines flesh, did not take away from the Jew the naturall Power of eating it; but the power of sinlesse eating it. So in *Civill power* a prohibition of God comming upon it, doth not take away the Power of *Civill* and Authoritative *Doing*; but of lawfull, or sinlesse doing. And hence it followes, 1. That Morall Limitation is only of the *Exercise* of Power; not of the *power* it selfe: for the power is not thereby taken away, but remaines equally extense and able to all its acts, as it was before; only now it cannot put forth it selfe unto certaine Acts without sinne, which it could before: Thus an *Absolute* Monarch who hath a power of doing, as extense as his Reasonable Will, promises to doe but this, or in this manner: now he is *morally bound*, by vertue of this promise; and cannot without sinne doe otherwise: yet if he doe, his Commanding Power is the same, and its act binding to the Subject. And so it is proportionably in *Legall* Governments. *Cyprian* Bishop of *Carthage* hath by the Canons a power of judging Ecclesiasticall causes committed to him: He resolves and promises to doe nothing of moment herein, but by the consent of his *Clergie*, now he is *morally* bound: and if afterward he doe a thing by himselfe without their consent, he sins: yet no man will say his Episcopall power is lessened; or the act he so doth, is canonically *invalid*, and not obligatorie. 2. Yea it followes also that it is not properly a Limitation of the *Exercise* of power neither: for by a morall bond, the Power is not so bound up, but that it can *exercise* it selfe, and that validly too, though not without sinne, as appeares before. 3. Also that it is no detraction from *Absoluteness* of Power; nor is it sufficient to make a distinction of it into *Absolute* and *Limited.* For, 1. It causes no reall Limitation of power, either in the nature, or exercise of it. 2. It is not *distinctive*, being to be found in the

the most absolute power under heaven, all being bounded by Gods Law, the Law of Equity, and many promises by themselves made. Legall Limits.

2. *Civill* or *Legall Limits* cause a *Civill* and *Legall* definement of Authority, so that, its exceeding acts are not *Legall* and binding, that is, are *non-Authoritative*: for as a *Morall* bond induces a necessity of confinement in *esse morali*; so a *Civill* and *Legall* bond doth in *esse legali & obligatorio*. Hence follows, 1. It is these *Legall* and civill bounds which constitute a Government in a limited condition, not those *morall*; for this is *distinctive* and is never found in an absolute Government, for there the Soveraigne by promise or Oath binding himselfe to a stated course doth put no Law civill upon his power, or the exercise of it; for though he sinne in exceeding afterwards, yet his acts are truely Legall and Authoritative. 2. This induceth a reall Limitation of power, neither can it be only of *exercise*; for sith it brings an illegality and unauthoritativeneſse on acts exceeding, that is, makes them none *in esse civili & politico*, it is a limitation of *Power it selfe*; for when a Power can produce no potentiall acts beyond such limits, then it is limited in the very being. 3. *Acts exceeding politique and legall Limitation*, being not Legall nor authoritative in that State can give no authoritie to the Instruments, and therefore they may be resisted without resistance or violation of Authoritie. Whereas it is otherwise in *Acts exceeding morall Limitation*; for being authoritative, they authorize the Instrument, and give him an unresistance.

In summe: Limitation morall and civill or legall doe differ in three main particulars.

1. *Morall*, sith it is no politique or Authoritative Act, makes no reall detraction either in power or exercise of it, and therefore agrees with the most absolute Government: whereas *Legall*, being a politique and authoritative Act makes a reall diminution; and so is the *ratio formalis*, or *distinctive conceit* constituting Limited government; nor can be found in absolute. Conclus. 1

2. Hence, *Exceeding Acts* notwithstanding *morall* limitation are authoritative, proceed from Gods Ordinance, and challenge subjection: but they are otherwise which *exceed a legall* limitation. Conclus. 2

3. *Exceeding* Acts in *morall* limitation being authoritative have the Sword or compelling power annexed to them, which may not be resisted: but in *Legall*, being not authoritative, they have not the sword or compelling power annexed, and therefore may be resisted in their Conclus. 3

Instruments: I will illustrate all this by a familiar instance. In our Government, a Iudge hath a Commission to heare and determine Causes according to the Verdict of twelve men. Here is a Power limited in the very being, that is Legally and Civilly. This Iudge useth indirect meanes to corrupt the Iurie to bring in an unjust Verdict; but judgeth as his Commission binds him according to their Verdict: Here is a *morall exceeding*, yet the Act of judgement is Authoritative, because according to his Commission, and must not be resisted. Againe, He passeth sentence in another cause expressely against the Verdict of the Iury, in an arbitrary way. Here is a *Legall exceeding*, and the sentence is *non authoritative*. He having no such Power committed to him, the sentence can have no binding power in it. Hereby it appeares how without any ground of Truth, the former supposals are.

Sect. 3. Causes & meanes of Limitation.

Thirdly concerning the *Causes* and *Meanes* of Limitation the Doctors supposals are, 1. That *Radicall Limitation*, that is, of the Power it selfe requires *an expresse and notorious act, it must be done in the beginning and at once.* p. 15. 24. 39. 2. *That a Prince may so limit himselfe, as not to require to be actively subjected to, and yet be limited only in the exercise, not in the power it selfe*, p. 16. 3. *That no Limitation by after condescent, is of the Power it selfe*, p. 28. this being a consequent from the first. Now that the falshood of these and the like grounds every where scattered in his bookes may appeare; Let us a little more diligently handle the *Causes* and *Meanes of Limitation*, which, as before, being twofold, Morall and Civill; We will begin with Morall.

Causes of Moral Limitation.

1. Now the *Formall cause* of a meere *Morall* Limitation, is that which morally bounds or makes sinfull any act of Power. We are therefore to enquire what it is which can doe that. And this is, 1. Principally the *Morall Law of God* forbidding such an exercise of Power. This is an *universall, perpetuall* and *invincible* Limitation of all power of Government, either absolute or legall, yea of all Active Power of reasonable creatures. 2. There is another meane of Limitation morall; *sc.* a *Promise, Oath* or *positive constitution*, whereby a Prince puts a bond upon himselfe, making that now sinfull to be done, which before was not so. This also induces a *morall* Limitation, as well in *absolute* as *legall* Governments; as if an Absolute Monarch promise to follow such a *Rule*, which hath a Power to use any which his *reason* shall dictate. Or if a *Legall* promise to abridge himselfe in a course, in which the *Law* hath

hath left him indeterminate: in this respect, they come under a *morall* limitation. But concerning this *positive meane* we must note. 1. This promise, how solemne soever it be, must be a *simple* bond: It must extend to no *diminution* of power, or *discharge* from duty of subjection; for then it is not meerely morall, it makes the exceeding act not only sinfull, but non obliging: whereas it is the note of a *meere morall bond*, that it extends not to any lessening of Authority, or discharge of duty: as if a Captaine take his enemy prisoner; he to save his life sweares him a full vassalage afterward, his Master promises to command him only such services, never absolving him from his former bond of absolute slavery: here is a *morall bond*; yet still a full debt of subjection in case the Master should breake his word, and put him on other employment. 2. If the matter be more throughly looked into, this *positive meane* of limitation is either none at all; or else addes nothing to the former, of the *morall law of God*: For in such *promise* or *Oath* whereby a Governour limits himselfe there is an *expresse* or *tacite* condition, if it conduce to the end of Government, the glory of God, and publick good: For if such Oath or bond hinder the end of Government, it is *eo nomine*, unlawfull and invalid; but if conduce to it, then it was no more, then was virtually required of him before by the morall Law; this *promise* or *Oath* being but a more solemne profession and protestation to doe that which before implicitely he was bound morally unto. Thus we see all that Doctor speakes of *Morall* and *irrevocable limitation* by promise and oath comes to nothing in the issue: so that this being granted that the Monarchs power in this State were only Morally limited in the Doctors sense; We are as much under and owe as much subjection as the captive slave to his Master; and all our Laws and Statutes being but morall limitations of this second sort, are not so much as *morall limitations* any farther then the Prince sees them conduce to the *end* of Government, if any seem to stand in his way, and hinder him therein, he is no longer bound to it; but may account it an ill made *promise* or *Oath* which is better broke then kept. 2. Of the *Causes* and *Meanes* of *Civill* and *legall limitation*, whereby not only the *exercise*, but the *power* it selfe is confined. 1. The *formall cause* hereof is the limitation of the *duty* of *subjection* in the people: The *duty* of subjection is the originall of the *power* of Authority. People by becomming debtors of subjection doe set up Authority; and by stinting and terminating the duty of subjection doe put bounds and termes

Causes of Legall Limitation.

to the power of commanding. 2. Let us ſee then by what meanes the duty of ſubjection may be terminated. I conceive it may be done two wayes. 1. At firſt, when a people reſigning up themſelves to a ſtate of ſubjection doe it not abſolutely, but impoſe only a limited bond on themſelves; for if they impoſe no more *duty*: the Governour can aſſume no more *power*. Now this may be done, not only by *poſitive*, expreſſe and notorious act, as the Doctor ſpeakes; but alſo by a *negative*; a meere not impoſing of an abſolute bond of duty on themſelves is enough: ſo that if it cannot be proved either by *records* of the firſt inſtitution, or *preſent obligation* that a people have put themſelves into a ſtate of *abſolute* ſubjection, then it is to be held but *limited*: For whatſoever is ours by the *law of nature*, cannot be taken from us but by ſome *poſitive act* done by our ſelves or Anceſtors: Thus in private men; Liberty which is mine by nature, none can take from me, unleſſe he can bring a title or right whereby it became his, and I his ſervant. Nor am I any farther his ſervant, then he can bring proofe of his right. The ſame is true of a ſociety of men. In this caſe it belongs to the *challenger*, and not to the *defendant* to bring his *poſitive notorious act* for proofe of his title, and meaſure of his title: So that the Doctors demand is unreaſonable, who ſtanding for a full right in our Government, puts on the peoples part to bring evidence that they have not. Rather it is juſt, that he ſhould bring ſome poſitive and notorious act wherein it appeares that this people have fully reſigned up their liberty to an abſolute Government; or make it appeare that it is Gods ordinance that where ever a people doe conſtitute a ſoveraigne power, they muſt make an abſolute reſignation of their liberty. 2. By after-condeſcent, for this may be a *meane* of *civill limitation*, unleſſe any will imagine that a people once putting themſelves into abſolute ſubjection, are irrevocably ſo. And thus a Monarch becomes *limited*, when the *promiſe* or *Oath* he limits himſelfe by, is not *ſimple*, but amounts either expreſſely or equivalently to a *relaxation of the bond of ſubjection*: whether it proceed from meere grace, or conſcience of equity, or by Petition, or importunity of the people, it matters not what was the ground of it, if it carry with it a *relaxation of the duties of ſubjection*, it is a *meane* of *civill limitation*, in the very *root* of *power*; for *power* can be no larger in the Prince, then *duty* of ſubjection is in the people; for theſe two have a neceſſary dependence, and *relation of equality* either to other. Thus if a Monarch, taking advantage of force

force of armes, impose a new Oath of *full subjection* on his people, who before were but *legally* bound; and prevaile so farre, that the *whole* or *major part* of his people doe take it for themselves and theirs, here is a *chang* of Government from *Legall* into *Absolute*, an enlargement of power: so on the contrary. And for this matter we need looke no farther, then the *Nationall Oath*, or *Established Lawes*; for if they bind the people to an *absolute subjection*; such is the power; and though it have morall, yet it hath no legall limitation: And so on the contrary if they bind only to a *subjection according to the Law*; the Government is limited in the very *power* of it. Hence it appeares to be false which the Doctor hath, p. 16. that a Monarch may so tye himselfe as *to require not to be subjected to but according to such Lawes*, and yet not be civilly limited, in his very power; for if he so far *require* not to be subjected to, that he untye the bond of subjection beyond those Lawes; then is his Authority limited, and can proceed no farther; neither are the instruments of his will exceeding those lawes, authorized, but private persons, and resistible: And also false, which he sayes, p. 28. *That limimtion by condescent cannot be radicall.* Now if enquiry be made concerning the *simplicity of antient firmes* of assuming into soveraignty, as when the people are said to make one King; to endue him *indefinitely* with Kingly power; not confining his Government by any expresse limitations. *Ans.* I conceive in such case to know how far a people are bound by such an *indefinite contract*, these things are to be looked into. 1. If the *intent* of the people can be discovered in such a constitution, for if it can, doubtlesse the contract binds so far, and no farther. Thus *Lyra* concludes concerning the request of the people of Israel for a King, that it is to be understood of an Absolute King, by that clause in the petition, 1 *Sam.* 8. 5. *a King to judge us like all the Nations*, for all those Easterne Nations having Absolute Monarchs, they desiring to be governed like them; must be conceived to intend such a government. 2. If there be no expression of their *intention*: then a light concerning it must be borrowed for circumstances; *sc.* the kind of government whereunto they have been formerly accustomed; or that of the Nation from which they proceeded: And thus the *Saxons* giving Kingly state to their Captaines in this Land, cannot in reason be interpreted to intend any other, then that whereunto they were *accustomed*, and which was the *firme* of the Nation whence they came. This *Rule* is ever to be kept as well in publike,

like, as in private contracts of that ſimple indefinite forme, that *they are to be conſtrued, as far as may be, in favour of the granter.*

CHAP. V.

An Anſwer to the Sect. 4. *concerning the Conſtitution of this Monarchy.*

Sect. 1. A Fourth ſort of the Doctors *ſuppoſals* are concerning the *Conſtitution* of this Monarchy, which in words he granteth to be *limited* and *mixed*, but comming to explaine himſelfe, he makes ſuch a *limitation* of it and ſuch a *mixture* as is indeed none at all, being to be found in the moſt Abſolute and ſimple governments in the world: for he every where ſuppoſeth it limited only *morally in the exerciſe*, not in the *power*: And ſo mixed, that there is but one *ſimple power*; *a mixture made of one ſimple principle*, ſuch a one as never was heard of in the world before. And this he delivers on his bare word, never bringing any proofe of it, thinking it enough if he can except againſt that which I have ſet downe concerning theſe things in my Treatiſe. Among other Aſſertions which I have there about the ſtate of this Government: there are two which this Replyer doth oppoſe. One is p. 31. *That the ſoveraignty of our Kings is radically and fundamentally limited*: which I have made good by five Arguments, and added a ſolution to the two chiefe which may be made againſt it. The other is, p. 39. *That the Authority of this Land is of a compounded and mixed nature in the very root and conſtitution of it.* This I have confirmed by three Reaſons; and have anſwered three Objections which may be made againſt it. Now I deſire the Reader impartially to weigh what I have there ſaid; and to compare it with this Doctors Reply; and then judge whether thoſe truths ſtand not firme againſt all that is brought to infringe them. But let us ſee what he oppoſeth. He proceedes not in any orderly courſe, to ſet downe his *Antitheſes* and prove them; and to give Anſwer to what I have brought on the contrary; but firſt ſpends ſome time in conſidering what this Government was in its *Originall*; as if it muſt needs remaine ſtill ſuch as it was at firſt; and could not receive any alterations, and graduall accompliſhment in proceſſe of time. And then he ſets on my Arguments, but how feebly we ſhall eaſily diſcover.

Here the firſt thing I did tax in the Doctors booke, was that he affirmed things contradictory: for *he tells us he is againſt Abſolute power*

in our Kings; and arbitrary Government: And yet he also affirmes, *that our Kings hold by right of conquest, yea of three conquests.* And that the *Houses of Parliament* are more subject to our Kings, then the *Senate of Rome* was to their Emperours. Also that *the finall judgement is in One.* Now how these so openly contradictorie Assertions can stand together he doth not shew us. Only *he challengeth my ingenuity, if either he proposed this as a conclusion to be proved, that our Kings are absolute,* p. 21. Neither doe I affirme that he did: Only I say, he holds things contradictory; that he holds such grounds which make all Kings absolute, *sc.* that no *supreme* is or can be more then *morally* limited. Indeed he speakes much of limitation morall; of limitation in the exercise of power; this makes a great noise of *limitation*, but indeed are but meere vailes to cover over Absoluteness, and make it the more passable, which he is ashamed to propose to the world in expresse termes. Suppose he did not *mention those conquests to win an arbitrary power to the King.* Yet sure in affirming more then once, that he hath such a right, he doth as much as if he said he may use an arbitrary power if he will; for if he hath a *right of Conquest*, he hath an *Arbitrary right*, by the Doctors own confession, *p.* 22. and if he hath a *right of Arbitrarinesse*, it is his lenity he doth not use it. In the Answer to the first Argument which I brought for the Absoluteness of our Kings (which was that *They hold by conquest, and therefore are Absolute.*) I do not say, the Doctor drawes such a *conclusion*: No; but he layes down the *Antecedent*; and then any body else may draw out the conclusion.

Originall of this Monarchy.

I fetch not the root of succession, so farre backe as the *Saxons*, as this Repliet traduces, *to cut off advantages which may be made from the Normans entrance,* p. 22. But because himselfe began there to make up a *Trinity* of *Conquests*: This drew me on that discourse of the *Originall* of this Monarchy; not that the cause had any need of it; for it is his work to prove the Government absolute, if he will have it so; also suppose it were as absolute as the *Norman Conquest*, by him improved can make it; yet that hinders not, but that it may become really and radically limited afterward, by *condescent*, as appeares in the former chapter. Concerning the *Saxon* entrance, I said it was not a *conquest*, *sc.* properly and simply, but *an expulsion.* He answers, *This is neither true, nor greatly materiall,* p. 22. I say, it is both *true* and *materiall*: It is *true*; for all the *Britaines* which retained their name and Na-

tion, were they many or few, were expelled into *Wales*: All the rest *in gentem, leges, nomen, linquamq, vincentium concesserunt*; as himselfe cites for me out of Mr *Cambden*. And it is very *material*; for if they which only remained here *in gentem & leges vincentium concesserunt*; Then the Conquerers, as I said, kept their *old firme of Government*; the *Saxons* came not into the condition of the conquered *Brittaines*; but they into the old liberty of the *Saxons*. Hereupon grew there a necessity of inquiry into the Government of the Nation, before they came hither; that so we might know what a one they established here; and brought the remaining *Brittaines* into. And a record of more unquestionable authority then *Tacitus* I could not imagine; nor a more expresse testimony for a limited forme in the very *potestas* of it; of which sort he affirmes the Governement of all the *Germane* Nations was. How ever the Doctor is pleased to call it a *conjecture*, a *dreame* and *uncerminty*; No, the expresse testimony of such an Authour is not so: Rather that *probability* of these *Saxons* not being then a people of *Germany*, but did afterward breake out of the *Cimbrica chersonesus*, is so; which himselfe dares call no more then *a probability*. I say, 1. It is a greater probability, that they were a people of *Germany* before they came in hither; for the *Angli* which accompanied them in that invasion, were questionles *Germanes*, and reckoned by *Tacitus* among that people, doubtlesse they were neighbours in habitation which were joyned in that voyage and conquest. 2. Suppose the matter were not cleare of the *Saxons*, yet is it of the *Angli* which gave denomination to the Land and people, who no doubt retained their Laws and Government, sayes *Cambden*; which was *limited* in the very *royall power* saith *Tacitus*. But this Doctor would make men believe, as if I endeavoured to deduce the very *Model* of our present Government from that *Saxon* ingresse: Whereas all that I ayme at, is to make it appeare that *in semine*, in the *rude beginnings* it is so ancient; and shall affirme the limited power of the English Kings, and liberty of the subjects to have been from thence continued till now, unlesse he can bring some better proofes of its interruption, and induction of an unlimited power, then as yet he hath. Also to shew that the Doctors Tenure by Conquest is vaine in the first of the *Three*, for the *Saxons* gave none such to their Princes, but kept their Lawes, and came not under the Title of a conquered people. Next, the Doctor censures my delineation of the present platforme of our Government,

p. 44.

*p.*44. (for it is nothing with him for advantage to skip over 9. or 10. Pages) that ſo he might make a ſhew as if I ſet down that *model* as derived from the *Saxons* out of *Germany*; and ſo ſpends neere two pages in this unreaſonable way of traducing me; Whereas he cannot be ignorant, that in many places, yea at preſent is forced to confeſſe, *p.*24. that I acknowledge our Government came up to this exactneſſe and full height by degrees and in continuance of time; but indeed he had nothing elſe to ſay againſt that *Deſcription* of this *platforme* or any one of thoſe 6. *Suppoſals* of which it conſiſts; and therefore when he had fained as if I had derived it from the beginning of the *Saxon* Government in this Land, he calls it a *phanſie, againſt the credit of all Hiſtories and Chronicles*, p.24. and ſo lets it goe. Let the Reader judge, whether I doe not there apparently ſet it down as a *deſcription* of our *now exiſtent Frame* of Government: And whether any thing therein is not according to *paſt hiſtorie*, and *preſent experience*: Yea I challenge the Doctor to except againſt the leaſt part of it, as not ſo: if he cannot, he doth wrong ſo to miſcall and deride it. After this Excurſion, he returnes back to the 36. page of my Book, and the proper buſineſſe of that Chapt. which was his *three Titles by Conqueſt*. I looked that after his *firſt*, he ſhould have made good his *ſecond Conqueſt*, ſc. the *Daniſh*, and made good what he had ſaid, that our Kings hold by that too, as one of the three. But not a word of that for ſhame: He paſſes *p.*26. to the *Norman* entrance: And to prove that *William* held this Land by conqueſt, he cites out of Mr *Cambden* that *in victorie quaſi Tropheum, he diſpoſed of the Lands of the Conquered, changed their Tenure, abrogated what Engliſh Lawes and cuſtomes he pleaſed*, &c. Indeed when he had gotten full poſſeſſion, he did what he pleaſed; but *factum non probat jus*. I have proved, and the Doctor hath not gainſaid, 1. That his *Title* by which he claimed was *a ſucceſſive and Legall Title*. 2. That this *Title* got the favour of a great party; and was *a maine Meane* facilitating his acquirie. 3. That he was *inaugurated by virtue of that Title*. 4. After he had gotten the Kingdome, though he did many things arbitrarily, yet *he ſettled himſelfe and his ſucceſſours in the ſtate of Legall Monarches*, as the Doctor confeſſes, *p.*27. What then is becoune of his *Triple Tenure by Conqueſt*; when heres not one can be made good; when it comes to a due ſcanning? That of Mr *Cambden*, that the Kings of this Land have *Poteſtatem ſupremam, & merum imperium*, is no more then that of the *Statute* which

the Doctor speakes of, p.47. that it is an *Empire governed by one supreme head*, which we acknowledge; for that *merum imperium* must be understood in a moderate sense; else it sayes more then the Doctor himselfe professes to own: Though Mr *Cambdens* judgement in this case is not of the authority of a proofe.

Sect. 2. My Arguments for Limitation and Mixture vindicated.

Then he passes to my Arguments, p.28. But, by the way, let me tell him, I brought 5. Arguments to prove this Government *limited*, and 3. to prove it *mixed*: and it had been meet he should have brought somewhat, beside his bare word, to prove it limited only in the *exercise*, that is, *Absolute in the power*; but he brings no proofe, because he had none: Yet perhaps though he had not wherwithall to *confirm* his own, yet he hath to *demolish* my Assertions: Let us see therefore his *solutions* of my Arguments. But before we come to weigh them, because he tells us p.28. *it were an Argument fit for a skilfull Lawyer to labour in, and slights* my endeavour because I bring not History and Antiquity, but doe goe about *to reason him into a belief of those Assertions*, Let me premise something concerning that course of proving them. 1. The work of bringing *History* and *Antiquity* doth belong to him who affirmes such a Title of Power in our Kings; Let him shew how and when it was conveyed to them: He which challenges a right to that which was once undoubtedly mine, must prove his right and he can have no more then he can bring evidence for. 2. On his default, if I undertake a needlesse office to prove my *Negative*, there are but two wayes imaginable to doe it, one is by *records of histories* setting out the *first constitution* of a state, and the *Termes* on which the people resigned up their liberty to a subjection. So in the Antient *Romane* State, the *Venetian*, the late *Belgik Union*, and others which have at once, visibly and lately been composed, it is likely that way might be taken. The other is by *demonstrative collections* drawn from the institution of the present composure of a State. Thus alone is it possible to discerne and prove the *constitution* of a Government which springs not up at once, but by unseen degrees and moments, whose fundamentall constitutive acts stand upon no record. This is the condition of most Governments in the world which have sprung from small, rude and unknown beginnings. And of this in particular. For 1. A limitation of Royall Power was brought hither by the *Saxons* and *Angli* our Ancestours, hath been proved. This was, as those times were, very *rude* and *unpolished*, it is likely such as *Captaines* in Armies have,

have, who can doe nothing of moment without the advise and consent of the *Counsell of Warre*. 2. This Limitation of Power and Libertie received some more *formall* and setled bounds afterwards by *customes* and *Lawes* before the Conquest, as appeares by the *Common Lawes*, which are, as it were, the *basis* and *foundation* of this Government, the *Statute Lawes* being but after *superstructives*; These *Common Lawes* did not grow up at once, but by degrees, and were *unwritten Customes and Usages* gaining authority by unknowne prescription, above all written Lawes; and were afterward committed to writing by men skilfull in the Lawes. 3. At length, and after the Conquest it was perfected to this *Parliamentarie Forme*; and even this being at first but *rude*, grew to this *exactnesse* by length of Time, and infinite Contentions. This latter way only being left us; that I took, and the Doctour hath no cause to despise it. For when a thing of *present State* is made evident by Reason drawne for palpable experience of it's present composure, it is madnesse to denie it to be so, because I cannot tell when it began to be so: Yea when the Question is of *present state*, it is a surer way to find out the Truth, then by records of its Originall constitution: For in time the Frame of a State may receive reall variations from what it was at first, as the *Romane State*, and most others have done; for the contracts of men are at pleasure alterable; and an argument drawne from Monuments of first coalition, would then be fallacious.

Well; be the way never so justifiable, which I have taken, yet the Doctor *dares pronounce my Arguments insufficient to cleare what I have undertaken*. Tis easie to pronounce it; let us see how he makes good his sentence. I proceeded distinctly first to lay down my Arguments proving *Limitation*, p. 31. Then those which proove *Mixture*, p. 40: He mingles them together: And to my first, third, fourth and fift proving Limitation, Answers that *They prove only limitation in the exercise of power*, p. 28. Why so? *Neither the Denomination of Liege, nor any prescription can make us believe, that the Limitations of power had any other beginning then voluntary condescent*. As if a Government *by voluntarie condescent* might not receive a *radicall Limitation*. But it lies on him to proove, it was by such *condescent*; if he can bring no record for it, it must in justice be held *originall*, and *ab initio*. Those two denominations of *Leige Soveraigne*: And *Liege people* doe prove the very *Soveraignty* and *Subiection* Legall; but that is not so which hath on-

ly a morall Limitation; the denominations argue the *bond 'twixt them to be Legall:* And when Subjects have such a Libertie by custome and Law, that they owe no farther subjection, then (when, or how ever they came by it) yet the very power of the Monarch is limited, as we heard in the former Chapter, unlesse any will put a vaine power in the Prince, to which no Subjection is due; but of this enough there. Then he passeth to my *Reasons* proving *mixture*, which are three, *p.*40. of my Treatise. The first is, *That it is confessedly mixed of a Monarchie, Aristocracie and Democracie, therefore radically, and in the very Power.* He answers, *It is not necessarie the mixture should be in the Power: but it is sufficient if there be a concurrence of Persons whose consent is required to the exercise of Power*, p.29. Thus he answers to the conclusion; but sayes nothing to the Antecedent. 1. And indeed if it be mixed of these three, his answer is against *common-sense*; that a *mixture of Monarchie, Aristocracie* and *Democracie* should be satisfied by annexion of persons to the Monarch, having meere consent: for these are *names of Power of Government*; for *Aristocracie* and *Democracie* are *Powers* not *Persons*, as well as *Monarchie:* therefore a composition of these three must be all of *Powers*. 2. And indeed this *chimera* of a *mixture in the exercise of Power*, is plaine *non-sense*. For a mixture in the *Acts* or Exercise supposeth a mixture in the *principles of Action*, that is in the very Powers: A *mixt Act* proceeding from a *simple Power* is such stuffe that I never heard before. Now if a *mixture in Acts* argues *a mixture in Powers:* These *Powers* must be *coordinate* and supreme: for *subordinates* make no *mixture*; also Powers concurreut to supreme Acts, such as *Legislation* is confessed to be, cannot be but supreme Powers. Neither can any man living cleare that passage which he speaks of *p.*45. from *pure non-sense*, &c. *This coordination is but to some Act or Exercise of the Supreme Power, not in the power it selfe:* For *Concurse* to an Act, implies a *Power of Concurrence:* and *Concurse to a supreme Act*, argues a *supreme Power*; for an inferiour Power cannot afford a coordinate concurrence to a supreme Act. So that his Over-seers were not mistaken when they checked him for that passage, and said, *He granted a coordination of Subjects with his Majestie in the supreme Power.* But here he brings a ponderous Reason, so often before urged. *If the mixture be in the Supremacie of Power, how can the King be the Only supreme and Head. He cannot salve it with his* Apex potestatis, *unlesse the King must be the Crowne or Top of the Head onely*

onely; for they also must be our Head and our Soveraignes, if they be mixed in the Supremacie of Power, p.29. Here I answer once for all to this so frequent an injection. 1. That the Titles of *Head* and *Supreme* are fully satisfied by this, that he is the sole Principle and fountaine from whence the execution of all Law and Justice flowes to his people by inferiour Officers and Courts, all whose Authoritie is derivatively from him as its head. 2. That these Titles in proper construction import only *Utmost chiefty*, nor doe they agree to any kind of right in the fundamentall and radicall Powers of a Kingdome; but to the principall and transcendent Interest: Another may have a right in the supreme Power, yet not be *supreme*, nor *Head*: because not having a supremacie in that Power: So it is in the *Colledges*, the *Fellowes* have a fundamentall interest in the power of Government, yet that hinders not, but that the Titleof *Head* and *Chiefe* is given to him who is Governour; will the Doctour jest at it, and say they be *Heads* and *Supremes too*, and the *Warden* or *Master* is but the *crowne* or *top of the head*. Also in the *naturall bodie*, from whence the *Metaphor* of *Head* is borrowed, are three Fundamentall and radicall powers scituate in the three Principall parts: yet none will say, the *Heart* and *Liver* are *Heads* too, because they partake the *supreme Powers* of nature. Let not the Doctour therefore straine a *Metaphor* so farre as to make himselfe merry with it. Let him really answer my Arguments by which I prove a *radicall Limitation* and mixture. Let him answer; is not the *Legislative* Power the *supreame*? Have not the *Houses* an *Authoritative concurrence* and Influx into that businesse? If he avoyd a punctuall answer hereto by carping at words, he will prove himselfe a ridiculous Argumentatour while he seekes to make others seeme so.

My second Argument for *radicall mixture*, is from the *Legislative* Power being in all three. He answers, *That Phrase is satisfied and explained by that concurrence and consent in the exercise of supreame Power*. It seemes that invention of his must serve all turnes. Is a *Legislative Power* satisfied by a bare *powerlesse consent*? I demand: is that *Consent causall* and *Authoritative*; or meerly *Consiliarie* and *unauthoritative*? And whereas I prove that they have an *enacting Authority* by that received and set clause in the beginning of Acts; *Be it enacted by the Kings most excellent Majestie, and the Authoritie of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament*. He tels us a *Vote and Power of assenting is a great Authority*, p.29. I enquire not how *great* it is: I aske whether that be

be all; whether that clause, which as expressely as words can, ascribes an *enacting Authority* to them, be satisfied by such a Power of Assenting? He sees it doth not, and therefore tels us of a former phrase which ran thus: *The King by the advise and assent of the Prelates, Earls and Barons, and at the instance and requeſt of the Commonaltie hath ordained*, &c. Suppose anciently some *statutes* runne under that *forme*: that *advise* and *instance*, must be understood of an *Authoritative* and *enacting advice* and *instance*; as the *latter formes* explaine it: for it is equall that the *latter* expound the *former*; and not the contrary, as the Doctor would perverſly have it, especially considering the Doctors Exposition cannot stand with the *latter*; but mine agrees very well with the *former*. But how bold is this man, when during so many *yeares* and *Parliaments*, both *Kings* and *States* by this received *Forme*, have acknowledged and established a *concurrent enacting Authoritie* in all three, yet he dares argue and oppose so expresse and confessed a truth? But in this answer, he discovers a great deale of superficialnes, in granting the Houses a *Power of consenting* to the establishment of laws; and yet denie them a *Legislative, enacting Power*: for such a *Power of consenting* (if it be necessary) is indeed a *Power of enacting*; for though in *transeunt Acts* one may stand by and consent to the doing, and yet not be *Efficient*; yet in *immanent Acts* which are done, *per immediatum volitionem*, by a meere expression of the Will, A *concurrence in consenting*, and a *concurrence in doing* is one and the same thing: Now *Legislation* is an *imminent Act*, consisting in a meer *expression of an Authoritative Will*.

My third Argument for *Mixture*, was from it's *end*, which was *Restraint from excesse*. 1. He *grants* such a *Restraint*, but *morall and legall, not forceable*, p. 30. I answer, He deceitfully confounds *morall* and *legall*, as I shewed before. 2. The *End* of Mixture in a State, is that there may be a power of restreyning *more then sufficient* (as his Majestie expresses it) but the Doctors meere *morall* power, is very *insufficient*; It limits not the *Power* at all; nor the *Exercise* properly, no more then an *Oath*, or *Promise* without it, would doe: that is, makes it sinne to exceed. But of this before. But here, which is very rare, He doth not onely denie, but give a reason of it. *If the fundamentall Constitution had intended them such a Power, it would not have left a power in the Monarch to call, or dissolve them, which would make this power of theirs altogether ineffectuall*, p. 30. This Reason seemes to have some weight

weight in it, I will therefore, the more seriously consider it. 1. Whatever strength it hath had in it; now it hath none, because that power of dissolving is now by Law suspended, for this Parliament; and after it, a necessity by Law imposed of reducing that Power of Calling Parliaments, into Act, every Three yeares. 2. Neither was it true before these Acts, that such a Power was left in the Monarch at pleasure to use or not; for it was by ancient Law determined how often they should be convocated. 3. But being granted that this Power is simply and fully in the Monarch, yet I denie, that hence it followes, that it would *make that Power of the Houses altogether ineffectuall*; because that *de facto*, though it hath been in the Monarch so long, yet it never hath made it voyd; but they have exercised a limiting Power, as Histories relate, enough yea and sometimes too much, over the Monarch, notwithstanding his Power of calling and dissolving them. Thus in the *Colledges*, the *Fellowes* have an effectuall, and more then morall limiting Power, though the *Governour* hath the Power of *calling* and *dissolving* their meetings. And anciently the *prima Patriarcha* had the power of *Calling* and *dissolving generall Councels*, yet they had a *Power of limiting*, yea of *Censuring* him for exorbitances for all that. The Reason is, because many things fall out oft in a Government, inducing such necessities on the Monarch, that he for their supply will choose to reduce such power into act of Calling, and suspend such power of dissolving, although he know those States will use their Limiting Power in reducing such exorbitances, and punishing those dearest instruments which have been used in them. This the *Constituters* of this Frame preconsidering might put in the Monarch this Power, and yet intend to the other States a *Legall and effectuall power* of restraining his exorbitancies, by using *Force*, not against him, but it's procurers and Instruments. Thus we see, there is no need of entring on that dispute, Whether this Power of calling and dissolving the Houses be placed in the Monarch, as all his other are, not absolutely, but with limitation of necessary reducing it into act, on the last exigencies of the Kingdome.

After this he returns to my other Arguments for *limitation*; One of which, drawne from radicall Mixture, he fully omits; but now having shewed the invalidity of his exceptions against my arguments for it, I have given force to this argument for Limitation, drawne therefrom. That which he sets on last is my *first* for Limitation in the very

Power: *sc.* the Kings owne expresse confession: *That the Law is the measure of his power*: That the *Powers which he hath are vested in him by Law*, p. 31. of my Tract: And, as if this were not more then he could answer, the Doctor addes a *third* for us, in which he ascribes to the Houses a power *more then sufficient* to restraine his Excesses, p. 30. Here are Authorities as punctuall and expresse as can be imagined. Yet the Doctor resolving not to be *reasoned into a belief of these things*, out-faces all this evidence; and to that end frames three Answers such as they are. 1. He sayes, *His Majestie had few of his learned Counsell about him*. 2. *His gracious expressions ought not to be drawne out to his disadvantage*. 3. *All that can be gathered from them doth not come up to these Conclusions*, p. 31. In the two first he openly enough taxeth his Majestie of unadvised expressions, excusing it from absence of his learned Counsellours (you may soone imagine whom he meanes) Thus disparaging the Kings judgement and all then about him; and tels us we must not be unjust *to set these sayings on the racke*; that is, we must not take them in their plaine meaning; but on this mans wrested and senceless interpretation: What doe not these men dare doe and say? Before we heard him *correcting* the expressions of all Moderne Parliaments, teaching us to reforme them by the old. Here the *King* and his *Counsell* setting out in such a time *Declarations* to all his Subjects to informe them about the *nature* and *extent* of his *Royall Power*: He compares those serious expresses to *Trajans* sudden and excessive speech: He will correct *Kings*, *Counsels*, *Parliaments* and all, but he will have his way: To him they must come to learne how to speake, and what powers they have. But let us heare his Doctorall Exposition of his Majesties expresses. Hee sayes, *The Law is the measure of his Power*: Wee must understand *his meaning to be that his power is bounded by Law: but it doth not follow, that his power wherein it is not limited by Law is not absolute and full*, p. 31. Here is profound interpreting: If his Power be limited by Law? is there any part of it not limited by Law? If the Law be the measure of it, sure it is even with it; for the measure is equall in extent with the thing measured: Thus he *papally* interprets against the direct meaning of the Text: But he doth not show us how that can be understood, when he saith, *His powers are vested in him by Law*, if the Law be a limitation only of *exercise*: Nor how their Restraining power is *more then sufficient*, if it be only *morall*; which, how unsufficient

ent a restraint for exorbitance it is, every ones experience can enough testifie. I admire a man who pretends to conscience and judgement should take such liberty of interpreting. Certaine if those Reasons and Testimonies doe not clearly proove a *radically limited and mixed Constitution* of this Monarchy I shall despair of ever proving any thing by way of Argument any more.

I had an intent to have subnexed other *Arguments* to make good those Assertions; but I see it is to no purpose, for he is resolved not to be *reasoned into them*; *He can denie all as failing either in the Antecedent or Consequent*, p. 32. The Power of this Kingdome he must have unlimited; He will give no *Reason* for it; nor heare no *Reason* against it. Yet, sith he professeth himselfe a *Resolver* of Conscience, Let me therefore be so bold as to propose certaine *Cases* to him. 1. Why in the late Oath proposed to be taken by all his Majesties Subjects the Power of *enacting Statutes* is sworne to be joyntly in the *Kings Maiestie, Lords* and *Commons in Parliament*. Certes the Doctor writ this *Reply* before that *Oath* was printed in *Oxford*, or else he did not consider of it. He cannot say, I hope there were but few of his counsell about him when that was framed: if the Doctor hath taken it, He hath forsworne this passage of his *Reply*; and sworne them a joynt enacting power. 2. Why we are enjoyned to sweare that *we doe beleeve that the Subiects of* England *are not obliged by any Act made either by the Kings Maiestie solely, or the Houses solely*, &c. Sure the Doctor hath abjured his other *Assertion* of the *unlimited Power* of the King, if he hath taken this Oath; for if Power be solely his, then an Act made by him solely is obliging. If they be not *obligatorie*, they are not *Authoritative*; and so the mixture and limitation is in the Authority it self. Here is no place left for his distinction of *Active* and *Passive subiection*. For, 1. Will any thinke that the intent is to sweare men to be bound not to doe, but to suffer? 2. The *Beliefe* of a *non-Obligation* proceeds indifferently and as fully concerning the *sole Acts* of the *King*, as the *Houses*. But I beleeve the Doctour will not say we are obliged to *passive subiection* to the sole Acts of the Houses. 3. I would know if the *Suites* doe limit onely *morally*, what they doe, which is not done without them? A *Promise* and *Oath* do limit morally without them. He will say they may admonish him; and denie their consent, and so make his *Acts invalid*: He meanes still *morally invalid*; and so would they be without them. 4. Suppose the *Monarch* minded to establish a Law,

Sect. 3. 7 Queries concerning this Governement.

which

which he judges needfull; and the States being averse, he *enacts* it without them; Is it not a *Law*? It hath all the *Legislative authority* in it. He will say it is not duly made. 1. I grant it: but yet it is a *Law*, for it hath all the Power of a Law. 2. But is it not duly made? Why, the *power of last decision* is in the *King alone*: Suppose he define that the *Intent* of his Predecessours in granting this *consenting power* to the *Houses* had no intent to hinder, but further themselves in establishing good lawes; and therefore now they not concurring by assent to this needfull *Act*, He ought not to be hindred, but may lawfully doe it without them. He is the *last Judge* in this *case*; and it must be held ever *lawfully enacted*. So that in the result here is left to these *States* by the Doctors grounds neither *Civill* nor *Morall Limitation*, but at *pleasure*. 5. If Limitation in our Government exempt Subjects from a necessity of *active* Subjection; but not from *passive*; How is it that our Lawes doe not only determine what the Monarch shall *command*, but also what he shall *inflict*: what shall be accounted Rebellion, what Felonie, &c. and what not; also what he shall inflict for this crime, and that crime, and what not? Sith the Lawes limiting what he shall *command*, doe limit our necessity of *active Subiection*; it will follow, that the Lawes limiting what he shall *inflict*, doe limit our necessity of *passive Subiection*. Here's no evasion by saying the Laws do limit him morally what he shall inflict, and if he inflict beyond Law, he sinnes in it; but we must suffer: for the Doctor acknowledges, that the Lawes defining what he shall *command* doe so limit our active subjection, that we haven *simple exemption* from any necessity of *Doing*; and therefore also the lawes defining what he shall inflict, doe so limit our passive subjection, that we have a *simple exemption* from any necessity of *suffering*, beyond those Limitations; for also, if they did not free us from passive subjection, it were unlawfull not only to *resist*, but also to *avoid* sufferingeven by flight. 6. When the liberties of *magna Charta*, and other grants have been gotten and preserved, and recovered at the rate of so much trouble, sute, expence and blood, whither by all that adoe was intended only a morall liberty, definement in the Monarch, and not also of the power it selfe; only that he might not lawfully exorbitate from established Lawes, and not also that he might have no Authority or Power to exorbitate at all? Sure this *was* their aime, for the former he could not doe before. 7. The Law granting a *writ* of *Rebellion* against him who refuseth to obey the sentence

ſentence of the Judge, though he have an expreſſe Act of the Kings will to warrant him: doth it not ſuppoſe thoſe *exceeding* and *extrajudiciall Acts* of the *Kings Will* to be unauthoritative, and unable to priviledge a man from Reſiſtance?

If the Doctor by his faculty can reſolve theſe *Caſes*, He will doe much in way of ſatisfaction of my conſcience; but if he cannot they will prove to many convincing arguments that the *Power* of the Monarch in this Frame is not *unlimited*.

Now having made good my *Aſſertions*, I expected another worke; *ſc.* an *Examination* of his *Reaſons* for *unlimitedneſſe*, and *ſimplicity* of Monarchicall Power, but he is not guilty of my fault, he doth not goe ſo much as to reaſon us into a beliefe of it. He doth in vaine expreſſe a deſire hee hath that ſome skilfull *Lawyers* or *Divines* would helpe him at this dead lift; yet he is like to goe alone in this wild untroden path of defending an unreſiſtibleneſſe on ſuch ſuppoſals: ſhall we think any *Divine* will ſecond him, in juſtifying his unwritten fancie about *Gods Ordinance neceſſarily inveſting all the acts of his will, Who is ſupreme?* Or any ſound *Lawyer* will overthrow the grounds of his Profeſſion, that the Royall Right, Authority and Government of this Realme is both founded on, and meaſured by the Laws thereof? Yea it is very remarkeable, that *his Majeſtie* in all the *Declarations* and *Expreſſes* which I have ſeen, doth not once touch upon this way, *ſc.* a challenge of ſuch a latitude of Authority as can preſerve deſtructive inſtruments from force; but condemnes the now Reſiſtance, by ſolemne *proteſtations* of innocency, and intention of governing by the *known Laws*.

CHAP. VI.

An Anſwer to his 5. Sect. of Reſiſtance in Relation to ſeverall kinds of Monarchy.

THE reſidue of his Book is ſpent about the Queſtion of Reſiſtance; Sect. 5.
I might well ſpare the labour of any farther Anſwer; for now having ſo apparently made good theſe two Aſſertions. 1. *That ſoveraignty may be limited in the very power.* 2. *That de facto, it is ſo in this Government*, every one may diſcerne the neceſſary truth of theſe inferences, 1. That in this Government, the *exceeding Acts* of the Princes will, being out of the compaſſe of his Authority, can not authorize their Inſtruments. 2. That hereon *Reſiſtance* of them is no other then of private men, not of *Authority*, or *Gods Ordinance*. But becauſe the

Doctors chiefe confidence is in this part of his discourse, and he is large in it, I will therefore goe on in my work, and will briefly make appeare that his *Reasons* are infirme, and his *Authorities* impertinent, and his *Answers* very insufficient: for having beene so large in making good my *supposals*, and overthrowing his, I may the more contract my selfe in this remaining businesse. In this Section he proposeth two things. 1. To consider how I *state the point of Resistance* in the kinds of Governments. 2. To prove that *Limitation and Mixture in governments doe not imply a forceable constraining Power in subjects*, p. 39. I will follow him in both.

My stating the Question vindicated.

He begins with a charitable censure of my stating the Question, and sayes *he finds it to be in a way that lies very open to Rebellion*, p. 33. Let the Reader judge: I am sure, his *Resolves* and *Determinations* are not in a way to destroy all *liberty*, and make all Governments *Arbitrary*, but directly doe it. Then for my maintaining the *Person* of the Monarch in *all Formes* to be above the reach of Force, he approves it; yet sayes *I allow subjects to raise Armies, to give battle to those that are about him as his guard.* He wrongs me, I say not *his guard* but *subversive seduters and instruments*: Those which he called *cut-throates* in his first booke; now he repents he gave that hard name to his clients, whom he pleades so hard to save harmelesse, and makes them amends with the stile of a *Guard*. A guard which bring him into greater danger then all his enemies; who bring him into battell to save themselves, where *Ordnance* and *Musket* can put no difference: No; *They use him as their guard.* If harme befall him, which God avert, the guilt and punishment will fall on them who are so prodigall of hazarding his sacred Person, not on those who could desire nothing more then his security, by absence from a multitude, who by undertaking the subversion of Religion and Lawes (for that is the Doctors supposition) bring themselves in danger of condigne destruction.

Then he proceeds to Resistance in an *Absolute State*. Where I affirme, *If such a Monarch should seeke the destruction of the whole Community, his instruments of such inhumanity may be resisted.* He dares not deny it; but would know what I doe meane by the *whole community*. I meane the *whole simply*, or the *whole interpretatively*; that is, the greater part; and therefore his exception of the *Jewes* in the Kingdome of *Ahasuerus*, or the *Templers* in the Westerne Kingdomes, is not to the purpose: but the instance which I bring of the

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Low-Countries, comes home: for they were the *whole community*; but the *Replier* corrupts it, when he saith *the Spanish King intended the extirpation of the Protestants only*, p. 34. For he intended not only theirs, but of all, Papists and else, which would not admit the introduction of an Arbitrary Government, and the subversion of their liberties, as the histories thereof make plaine. Here in this 34. page, the Doctor shewes a bad mind: Taking occasion to excuse the *Rebels* in *Ireland*, as if they might justifie themselves on these grounds; and intimating a falshood, as if the Parliament did intend their extirpation, hereby declaring how ill he likes any effectuall course for the rooting out of Popery out of the Kingdomes. Indeed, he sayes, *he pleads not for them*, but yet he doth it. He finds out arguments for them; and shews them a way, both how to excuse themselves, and accuse the Parliament; and to call a resolution of cleansing that Iland from Popery, an extirpation of their Nation. He sayes, the *example of David proves not this, being but a particular Man.* I say, it proves it the more strongly, as shall appeare. Then *if a particular mans life be invaded without any plea of reason, I suppose it hard to deny him the liberty of positive resistance of agents*; and prove it by the instance of the peoples rescue of *Jonathan*; and *Davids* of himselfe; where the peoples *Oath*; and Davids *Army*, with his *enquiry* at *Keilah* doe prove a serious and reall purpose of Resistance, let the Doctor say what he please to the contrary; so that these examples come home to justifie resistance in such case, even in an *Absolute Monarchy*; for here are particular men, in an absolute Monarchy, assaulted without *plea of reason*; for that *Jonathan*, who had wrought such a deliverance, should die, for tasting in his ignorance a little honey, there was no *colour of reason*; the Kings rash oath was none. And that *David* should be put to death, whom *Saul* himselfe of it with his own mouth professed innocent, and absolved, was as much without *plea of reason*: so that here I need not flie to the Doctors shift of an *extraordinary case*, as he tells me I must, p. 35. I acknowledge no extraordinary case in these examples: Take them in their due extent, and they justifie no more then I have asserted; and so much they doe. In my 5. Assertion, p. 11. *Of submitting States, Liberties and Persons to the Will of an Absolute Monarch carrying any plea of reason*; He faults my Order, and tells me, it should have been first. It seems this mans eye can spie small faults; but why first, he doth not say. I think in stating of the question of resistance I may as well

well begin with the *Affirmative*, and shew first when it may be used, and then when it ought not; as on the contrary, but he will make a fault, where he finds none. But what sayes he to the *Assertion?* He grants it; but dislikes the limitation, *so it carry plea or shew of reason:* and sayes *here the way is open enough to rebellion*, p.36. No opener then himselfe makes it, *p.*10. This is usuall with him, when he dislikes a thing: He can speak no lesse words then *Rebellion.* But why sayes he so? *Every man will be ready to think there is no reason nor equity in the Will of the Monarch when he is oppressed by him.* He may well enough, if hee be oppressed: but yet there may be a *plea* and *colour of equity* even for an Act of Oppression; and in an Absolute Monarchy it will little availe a man though he think there is no reason for it: for he must not be his own judge; nor hath he any outward judge to appeale to; but the *Reasonable Will* of the Monarch himselfe; if he submit to its determination, there is no feare of Rebellion; if not, I have done with him, in such a Government. Of *Saules* censure of *Jonathan* and *David* I have spoken already and made it appeare it had no plea of *reason*, was not the act of a reasonable will; and therefore I may hold their examples ordinary, without impeachment of this Assertion.

Then he proceeds to Resistance in *limited* and *mixed Rules*, p.36. Concerning which I said, p.17. *If the exorbitances be of lesse moment they ought to be borne*, and p.18. *If mortall and destructive neither can be otherwise redressed, then prevention by Resistance may be used.* Here first *he challengeth my ingennity*, for words spoken in my 49. page. He said Sect.1. of his first booke, *We may and ought to deny obedience to such commands of the Prince as are unlawfull by the Law of God; yea by the established lawes of the Land.* I censured this speech, that *it is more then should be said*, sure, a hainous fault in me: I say more; *he hath said more then should be said*, by all these three bookes, in which he sayes that which dissolves all frames of Government into arbitrary, overthrowes all effectuall limitation of Power; and sure that is more then should be said. And for that particular clause; Is it not more? He speakes without restriction: Doth joyne things unlawfull by the law of God, and things unlawfull by the lawes of the Land: And puts the same *may* and *ought* to both; if the affirmation must be understood *universally* of *one*, how can it be understood otherwise of the *other*: It cannot be excused from the censure

of

of a confused and unwary speech. He passeth, *p.* 37. to the Question, *Who shall be the ultime judge of subversive exorbitancies*. He would know who? I have told him my opinion hereof at large in that Tract: Here I would faine know his; but he would rather carp at mine, then give his own. When I say there can be no *Authoritative judge* to determine it. *He commends my ingenuity*, p. 37. but I doe not only say it, but at large doe prove it, there *p.* 67. as well against him, as against those others; why doth he not undertake that *Question* against me, if he hath any mind to it. He much dislikes when I say, *p.* 18. *The fundamentall Lawes must judge in every mans conscience. This is*, sayes he, *a ready way to anarchy and confusion*, p. 37. I referre not this case to the consciences of men as to an *Authoritative Judge*, but *a morall principle of discerning Right*: And who can deny unto man such a liberty to conceive of right according to the light he hath from the fundamentals of a State? Let the judicious reade what I have said here-about, *p.* 67. of that Tract; and let him then tell how that Question can be otherwise determined, unlesse he overthrow *Monarchy*, by giving a finall judgement to the *States*; or all *Liberty*, if he give it to the *Monarch*; and supposing the *Ayme at subversion* be evident to mens consciences, can we deny them a naturall power of judging according to that evidence; or liberty of assisting the wronged? So when I say *the wronged side must make it evident to every mans conscience: also the appeale must be to the Community, as if there were no Government; and as every man is convinced in conscience he is bound to give assistance*, p. 29. of my Tract: He calls this *good stuffe*, p. 37. Why? because I say, *the people are at liberty as if there were no Government; and this appeale is disadvantagious to the Monarch; for they will be more ready to believe their representative: This would in the consequence be dangerous, the high way to confusion*, p. 38. Answ. 1. I say, not *simply*, that people are at liberty, as if there were no Government; but *in this particular Question*; bound still, as before, in all besides. 2. He takes me as if by *Community* I meant only the *Commons*; when I expresse it by *genus humanum*, especially of that Kingdome. 3. He censures the *Reason of Mankind* of partiality towards their *Representatives*. Not so; for in so great a Question *Wise men* cannot be blinded: *Honest men* will goe according to their conscience, and *Reasonable men* according to evidence, and will see it concernes them as well to avoid *Anarchy* by aiding a wronged *Monarch*; as *Tyranny* by aiding an oppressed

State. But sith this *Replicant* is so bitter an enveigher against an *Appeale ad conscientiam generis humani*, in this last case so uncapeable of an Authoritative decision: 1. Let him consider on what foundation God hath built Monarchy and all other powers, but on the consciences of men, *Rom.* 13. 2. Let him weigh whether, when he hath said all he can say, such an appeale be avoidable. For, 1. If a controversie arise between the *King* and a particular person or place; the *King* shall Judge it in his Courts by his Judges, and the sentence shall be executed by the force and armes of his other subjects. 2. If it be between *Him* and the *Representatives* of his whole Kingdome, and supreme Court of Judicature in which the Acts and Persons of all other Courts and Judges are to be judged. The King cannot judge this in his other Courts and by his Judges; nor yet by himselfe; for a King out of his Courts cannot judge in a Legall Government, especially the acts of his supreme Court. But be it so: suppose the Doctor and I should agree in this, that the King by himselfe is the *ultimus* Judge of Controversies: Yet it is very like those *States* with whom the Contention is, will not yeild him so, to judge against them, in his own cause. But suppose they doe not submit to his determination: He will say, then they sin, and rebell against him. Well, let it be granted; yet submit they doe not: I demand in this case, what course the King hath to make effectuall his sentence? It must be by force of armes, by the sword: but of whom? Either the *peoples* whose *representatives* they are; or other mens: but what shall bind them to afford their Force to make good his sentence? It must be their conscience of his right; Thus when all is done and said, To the *consciences of Men* must his *appeall* be; and to them must he make evident his right, in this extreme contention. Yea this man in a controversie of the like nature, is compelled to acknowledge as much: For the *Pleaders* put the case; If a King be distracted, I may adde, if his Title be dubious, *&c.* The Doctors answer is, *if it be cleare that a King is so, &c.* p. 8. but who shall determine this *If?* must not self-evidence in the consciences of Men? This is all the judiciall power the Doctour can referre us to, in these cases. Lastly, *He would know what power there is in a Community to make resistance*; and answers himselfe, *A Parliamentary and Legall; not Military and Forcible*, p. 38. Thus he speakes of these as contradistinct, when they are subordinate, *Forcible* being subservient to *Legall* to make it valid and effectuall, which else were meerely morall

morall and ineffectuall; but this is one of his ſuppoſals whoſe vanity I have before diſcovered: And *p.*51. of my Treatiſe, in a full diſpute have I proved the Parliaments power in reſiſting deſtructive inſtruments; which I doubt not, will appeare cleare, notwithſtanding any thing ſaid in this Reply. But that is very ſtrange which he affirmes, p.39. *That if they uſe a Legall reſtraining power, the Monarch cannot alter the eſtabliſhed frame.* Sure, by *cannot*, he underſtands fallaciouſly, as he uſeth to doe, a *morall cannot*, that is, not without ſin; which is a poor ſmall *cannot* now adays: if he mean indeed *cannot*, that is, *is not able*, it is againſt reaſon, by his grounds; for what is not he able to doe, whoſe loweſt, moſt deſperate inſtrument of pleaſure is unreſiſtible? Let him remember where he ſaid, p.19. *A forcible conſent cannot be wanting to a Conquerour*, and a Conquerours power is no more then unreſiſtible. Nay; I am ſenſeleſſe on the Doctors grounds, if he cannot *lawfully*; for ſuppoſe he be pleaſed to make it a Queſtion, whether he were not better governe by the *Civill-Law*, as more conducent to Gods glory, and the *end* of Government. He is by Law the laſt judge of this Queſtion, if he determine it beſt: then he may lawfully doe it.

Sect. 2. His Arguments againſt power of reſiſtance reſerved, anſwered.

Now we are come to the ſecond part of this Section: in which he undertakes the proofe of this *Aſſertion*, that *Limitations and Mixtures in Monarchy doe not imply a forcible conſtraining power in ſubjects for the preventing of diſſolution, but only a Legall*, p.39. *Anſw.* He failes in the very propoſall of his Aſſertion in three points. 1. He propoſeth it of Limitation in generall; whereas I grant it of that which is *only in exerciſe*; affirming it only of that which is of the *power* it ſelfe. 2. He ſayes, *Forcible conſtraining power in ſubjects*, when he ſhould have ſpecified *againſt ſubverſive inſtruments*, for I grant it of the *Monarch* himſelfe. 3. He oppoſeth *forcible* to *Legall*, when it ſhould be oppoſed only to *meere Morall*, not to *Legall*, as before. Now let us weigh his Arguments. Firſt, *Such a power muſt be in them by reſervation, and then it muſt be expreſſe in the conſtitution of the Government and Covenant*, or elſe by implication. I will anſwer diſtinctly concerning this *Reſervation of power* of forcible Reſiſtance. 1. There is a *Reſervation of liberty*, or power of not being ſubject neither actively nor paſſively to the exceeding Acts of the Monarchs will: This is by *implication*, for what they did not reſigne up, they did reſerve. 2. *A power of Authoritative judging*

and resisting the Monarch thus exceeding. This neither expressely nor implicitly is reserved; not because it is *unlawfull*, as the Doctor imagins, but contradictory to the very institution of a Monarchy, and so, under that intention, *impossible*. 3. *A power of forcible resistance* of subversive instruments. This by the Authority of the Law, is, not *reserved*, but expressely *commited*, not only to the *Houses* of Parliament, but all inferiour Courts; for the Law, whose execution the King committeth unto them, commands them not only to resist, but punish its violaters, much more its subverters, without exceptions of *Persons*, or respect of their *number*, or *ground* and reason why they doe it, whether with or against the Kings private and absolute will or Warrant: supposing such men to be without warrant. And this power of judging all violators and subverters of Laws being committed to them, includes a power of imploying the force or Armes of the County, or whole Kingdome, if need be, to make good the sentence of the Law against them; *This power* being a necessary attendant to the *former*. And they who have the *power of judging* by Commission, have the *power of force* by implication. To his five Arguments therefore by which he proves this power not *reserved by implication*; I briefly Answer. 1. *Limitation cannot infer it, &c.* Answer, Limitation in exercise only doth not: but in the power it selfe doth infer it, as I have often shewed. 2. *The inconveniencies of exorbitancie cannot infer it.* Answer, They doe not infer it of themselves, for they are the same in absolute Rule: but supposing a people mind in their Frame effectually to prevent those inconveniencies, that doth infer it. 3. *The consent and intention of the people, choosing a Monarch cannot infer it, because it is not the measure of the power it selfe.* Answer, I have before proved the contrary, and made the Doctors suppostall appeare a groundlesse falshood concerning unlimited power by Gods ordinance. 4. *The intention of the people in procuring Limitations of power cannot infer it.* Answer, If the peoples intention in it, be a greater security from oppression then in an absolute Government they can have, or a meere morall limitation can give them; then it doth inferre it. 5. *If the Architects did intend such a forceable power to these States, they would not have left it in his power to dissolve them*, p. 42. This hath had its full satisfaction before. These are poore infirme arguments, as the reader cannot but see, yet he ends in a triumph. *Therefore I conclude here as I premised in the second Section, where the Prince stands supreme, &c.*

There

there Subjects may not by force of armes resist, though he be exorbitant, &c. p.43. 'Tis true *he concludes as he promised*, but he hath not *proved* as he *promised*; nor as we expected; for here is nothing, but that which fals to the ground with his supposals on which they are built; and which I have demolished in the 4th Chapter.

CHAP. VII.

An Answer to the 7th Section of his Replie, of places of Scripture out of the old Testament.

HIs sixt Section doth wholly concerne the *Author of the fuller Answer*, which I passe over, because I am chargeable for no more then is my owne. And come to his *seventh* which contains an Examination of places alledged in this Question out of the old Testament. Where he begins confidently that there is *no Warrant for Resistance*, p.56. and he yeelds two Reasons why. 1. *Because the Institution of that Kingdom was such as doth plainly exclude Resistance.* 2. *Because the Prophets never call for it.* *Ans.* I grant it doth exclude it, as farre as in an *absolute Monarchie* it may be excluded; and therefore there is no need of answering his Arguments. But yet let us consider them sith he is so large in them. Sect. 1.

To shew us the *Institution* of that Kingdome he brings, 1 *Sam.* 8. 11. Where he sayes we have it. *For Samuel is commanded*, v. 9. *To tell the people (Jus Regis:)* Now this *jus Regis* he makes a great matter of, and tels us *it implies not a Right of doing such unjust Acts, but a securitie from Resistance and force, if he does them.* p.56.

Ans. 1. It is no prejudice to the cause I defend, if I should grant all he would worke out of this Text; for it prooves no farther then of that particular Kingdome, inducing no necessitie that all others must have the same Institution. Also that which he concludes is but a securitie for the Person of the Prince from force if he doe such unjust Acts: which we grant him not only in that, but all Monarchies, even the most limited.

2. If he have any further reach, and would conclude out of it a *generall binding Ordinance* of security from Resistance extending even to subversive Instruments of Will. The world will wonder at him for such an audacious conclusion from such premises. And we will look a little nearer to what he sayes. All is grounded on his Interpretation

of *Jus Regis*. Which he seeks to confirme by *Calvins* Authority.

First, for his *Interpretation*. I say the Originall words in this place are not to be translated *jus Regis*, the *Right of the King*. Because 1. There is another more fit signification of them: the words are משפט המלך now the word משפט being applied to unjust Acts, as here it is ought not to be rendred *jus*, but *mos*, not *Right*, but *manner*, as appeares by another place answerable to this, 1 *Sam.* 27. 11. וכה משפטו speaking of *Davids roving*, *This will be his manner*, 'twere ridiculous to render it, this will be his *right* or *priviledge*. This our last Interpreters knowing, did willingly depart from the *Vulgar Latine*; whose Authour either ignorantly or inconsiderately did render it *jus Regis*; which this Doctour for his advantage doth here make so much of. 2. That rendring of it, cannot be justified by any other Text of Scripture; for whersoever it is rendred *Jus*, it imports a morall Right; not a priviledge or securitie in ill doing. I challenge any skilfull in that tongue to bring one place where it is or can be so rendred.

Then for *Calvins* Authority. I answer. 1. What if *Calvin* or any other deceived by the vulgar Latine, or ignorance of the extent of the Originall word, have rendred it ill; must that be a prescription to others who know a better? 2. Neither doth *Calvin*, though he follow the *Latine* and render it *jus*, meane such a *jus* as the Doctour doth, sc. *An absolute immunity*, or security from Resistance: but onely from *private men*. For after he hath in all those passages, which the Doctour cites, exempted Kings from violence, truly and piously urging patience in Subjects under the injuries of their Princes, at length *Instit. l. 4. c. 10.* (the same out of the which the Doctor brings his proofes) *num.* 31. He explaines himselfe, *De privatis hominibus semper loquor*, that all is to be taken of *private men*; not of the *States of a Kingdome*, in their publike meetings: never discerning of such a universall immunitie, as the Doctour would put upon him to maintaine. And here I challenge not the Ingenuity, but the Conscience of this Replier, who cites *Calvin* at large in the former place, as agreeing with him in this case of Resistance, when he cannot be ignorant of the contrary, and therefore conceales his following words in the 31. *num.* Where he expressely teaches the same Truth which I have asserted in my *Treatise*. Heare him speaking his judgement, *De privatis hominibus semper loquor: Nam si qui nunc sunt populares magistratus ad moderandum*

moderandum Regum libidinem constituti (quales olim erant, qui Lacedemonijs regibus oppositi erant, Ephori, aut Romanis Consulibus, Tribuni plebis, aut Atheniensium Senatui, Demarchi; & qua etiam forte potestate (ut nunc res habent) funguntur in singulis regnis tres ordines, cum primarios conventus peragunt) adeo illos senescenti Regum licentiæ pro officio intercedere non veto, ut si Regibus impotenter grassantibus, & humili plebeculæ insultantibus conniveant, eorum dissimulationem nefaria perfidia non carere affirmem, quia populi libertatem cui se, Dei ordinatione, Tutores positos norunt, fraudulenter produnt. He is cleare, that the Estates in Parliament, not only may, but are *Gods ordinance* for it, and are bound to resist, and not suffer the destruction of liberties, by exorbitating Princes; so that I may justly retort the Doctors words, p. 57. *There can be nothing spoken more plainly for the power of resistance in the Houses of Parliament then this.*

Then for his other reason from the 18. verse, *Ye shall cry out in that day, and the Lord will not heare you.* As in my Treatise I called it *inconsequent*; so also now: He is a good *Logician* which can draw his conclusion out of those premises. But he blames me, p. 58. for saying it was an absolute Monarchy, and *cannot see how it can be so, according to my description of absoluteness.* Why not? *In Absolute Monarchy, there are no limits but the Monarchs own will; but these had a fixed judiciall Law*, p. 59. I answer, That *judiciall Law* was no limits of their *power*; but of the *exercise only*; for the non observance of it by the King did not amount to an untying of the *bond of subjection* in the people. The *Judiciall* Laws being from God, not from any contract of the people, were in the same nature to that people, and for the time, with the *Morall* Laws; and in the same manner did limit their Kings, and no otherwise. But for the *Absoluteness* of that Monarchy, here *Lyra* (more faithfully cited, then he did *Calvin* above) *Constitutio Regis juxta potestatem sibi concessum est duplex.* 1. *Plena & legibus absoluta, prout legiste de Imperatore dicere solent.* 2. *Cum potestate limitata.* Now sayes he, the people sinned, not simply in asking a King; but in asking a King of the first sort, *to judge them as the Nations*, that is, *absolutely*. He is expresse. 1. That limitation of power makes a limited Monarch. 2. That *Israel* desiring such a Government as the adjacent Nations, desired an absolute Monarch. And indeed as the definement of the *morall* Law doth not disparage the Absoluteness of the Monarch, *Lyra*, in 1 Sam. 8.

Monarch, because it is from God, not the people; so did not their *judiciall*, for the same reason.

Sect 2. Next he comes to the peoples rescue of *Jonathan*, p. 60. He may give their *resolute Oath* what names pleaseth him, *a loving importunate violence, a souldierly boldnesse*, or the like; it was a peremptory expression of no lesse then an intent of resistance, in case there had been need. Then for *Davids* purpose in having armed men about him; He says *it was only to secure his person against the cut-throates of Saul*, that is, *against his private Emissaries. But who sees not a large difference betweene securing a mans selfe from private Emissaries, and appearing in the field with Armies against the Armies of the Prince*, p. 61. Answer, 1. It is against reason, that he should retaine an Army of 600. valiant Souldiers, yea a great Army, *like the Host of God*, 1 Chron. 12. 22. to secure himselfe meerely against *private Emissaries*. 2. Let us grant him that there is a difference between securing against private Emissaries, and the open Army: yet if he grant it lawfull to use force against one, he grants the cause by it, of all; for a warrant from an act of the Kings will is as valid to secure a few Emissaries, as a whole Army: and Gods Ordinance in one man, is no more resistible, then in a multitude. Then for *Davids* intent to keep *Keylah* against *Saul*, it is so evident, by the history, that I will say no more about it; but doe refer him to that which the *Pleaders for defensive Armes* say about it. The Doctor seeks divers evasions, to get out of the reach of this example; but doth not satisfie himselfe, much lesse others, and therefore adds the fourth on which he must rest when all is said, *That Davids example was extraordinary*. Hereon he bridgs some things in him which were *extraordinary*; We grant it in many things; but we deny it in this. If the Doctor will prove him to have a speciall privledge to resist Gods ordinance in his Soveraign, more then other men; he must bring the grant and warrant for it: otherwise *David* must come under the common condition for this matter: He himselfe acknowledges he had none for violating the person of his Prince; and sure then he had none for violating the Authority of his Prince, conferred on *private Emissaries*, if they had any. But in his p. 65. He layes hard at me, and *challengeth not only my Reason for calling this a shuffling Answer, but also my ingennity, who confesse the people in that Government might not resist; and yet doe urge these examples for Resistance*. Answer, 1. For my *Reason*; I have made it appeare I have reason to call

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it so; is it not a meere *evasion*, to affirme in him *an extraordinary priviledge*, and can bring no word, nor warrant for it? 2. For my *ingenuity* it is without cause challenged by him; for from the lawfulnesse of Resistance of *unreasonable Acts of Will*, in an absolute Monarchy, where *Reason is the Princes Law*; I may *a fortiori* conclude the lawfulnesse of resisting of instruments of *illegall Acts* in a limited Monarchy, where the *Law of the Land is the Princes Law* and bounds.

CHAP. VIII.

The 8. Section *concerning Resistance forbidden*, Rom. 13. *answered.*

Sect. 1.

NOw we are come to his principall strength against Resistance out of *Rom.* 13. From whence nothing can be collected against any Resistance, but that which is *of the Powers, of the Ordinance*: but that which I defend is of neither of them, therefore I have no cause to feare his inferences from that Text. Now supposing the truth which I have made good, that in a limited State the limitation is of the Power it selfe, and not only of the exercise; it followes evidently that in such a State resistance of destructive instruments, is neither of *Power* nor *Gods Ordinance*. I might therefore well omit that which at large here he speakes of *Resistance of the Powers*. The first part of the Section is spent in replying to the Exceptions of the *Reverend Divines*. The first thing I find which concernes me is, *p.* 77. I will therefore begin with him there. Where he accuseth me *that in my* 59, 64, *and* 66. page *of that Treatise, I grant they might not resist in that Monarchy; but affirme that subjects may in this; and he brings me in giving two Reasons for it*, 1. *Because Religion was then no part of the Lawes, but here it is.* 2. *Because that was an Absolute Monarchy, this a Limited and mixed*, p. 77. But may I not here challenge both the ingenuity and conscience of this *Replyer*. Did I ever grant that Gods *Ordinance of Power* might here resisted here; or give any *Reasons* for so unreasonable an Assertion? It would be tedious to repeate here, what I have said there. Let the Reader see; if he please. I will recite the summe. 1. The Doctor affirmed, that in the Apostles time the *Senate of Rome* might challenge more then our *Parliaments* can now. I denied it, and gave my reason, *&c.* That *State* was then devolved into a Monarchy by Conquest, *&c.* of this the Doctor speakes not a word, perhaps he is now ashamed of that comparison. 2. He said, there was greater *cause* of Resistance then, than now. I answered. There

was then no *cause* at all: Not for *Religion*, being then, no part of the Law: Not *Liberties*; because then that was past, the Government changed; and an Oath taken of absolute subjection. Have I by these things granted a liberty of Resistance of Gods Ordinance to this people; and deny it to those? No; Neither They, nor We; not that enslaved *Senate*; nor our free *Parliaments*, no cause, no priviledge can justifie this. Yea I ascribe more to *Gods Ordinance of Power*, then He: He sayes that in a limited state we owe only *passive subjection* to exceeding commands of a Prince by promise limiting himselfe in the use of his power. I say; though he sin in exceeding such promise; yet we owe him also *Active obedience* in such commands which Gods Law forbids us not to be *Active* in. Neither doe I bring Doctor *Bilsons* testimony to prove that Religion was then no part of the Law, as he affirmes I doe, *p.*77. but sure he neither heeded what I had written, nor what himselfe wrote. I laid down an Assertion that *Gods Ordinance* of which St *Paul* speakes, is the *Power* and the *Person* of him which is supremely invested with that Power; and for this did I bring Dr *Bilson*; who, explaining the Power there forbidden to be resisted, sayes *it is the Princes will not against his Lawes; but agreeing to his Lawes.* Here he serves Dr *Bilson* and other Divines, as before the *King*, and the *Parliaments*, teaches them a meaning contrary to their words: *They meane such states as may by the knowne Laws use forceable restraint:* No such meaning of his words: He makes no distinction of *states*; but expounds the Text in question, speaking of *Gods Ordinance* in generall, in all *Rulers*: He knowes it well enough; and therefore adds, *They were willing to excuse as much as might be those motions of the Protestants in France and the Low-Countries; but had they lived now, they would have spoken more cautelously.* That is, They spake rashly, wronged the truth, and reached their consciences to excuse the commotions and rebellions of those dayes. This is like a Doctor. But he likes the *Homilie* better then them all, *that speakes home*, he sayes; but what, he speakes not, nor doe I answer. *But he will try the force of this exception, because I professe, with Mr Burrowes, against Resisting of Authority though abused: And with Dr Bilson, admit of resisting the Princes will against the Lawes: This is fast and loose, sayes he.* How so? In limited Monarchies, where the Prince hath no Authority beyond the Law: there an act beyond the Law is unauthorisative and meerely private; so that it is no *abusing of Authority*;

Authority; but an *exceeding of Authority*. *Authority abused* to undue acting of matters within its compasse, Mr *Burnewes* speakes of, and that must not be resisted. But the *Princes* will acting against his Law, that is matters without the compasse of Authority is not Gods ordinance, sayes Dr *Bilson*, and so may be rested as his instruments. I still say, let him prove such acts to proceed from Authority, I will disclaime Resistance of their instruments, either the meanest *Constable* in the Land, or *Souldier* in the army. But how clouded he this truth *which is cleare as the day?* 1. *In that Government under which the Apostle lived, men might not resist, though the Powers commanded contrary to Law, as oft they did: Not under the Arrian Emperours, though religion was then a part of the Law*, p. 78. Answer, 1. Dr *Abbot* that learned Bishop of *Sarum* was of another judgement; *Demonstrat. Antichrist*, c. 7. In that Government he doth distinguish the Christians carriage according to the distinction of times. At first before Religion was established by Law, *cedebantur, non cedebant*, but after *Constantines* time when it was established by Law, *Cedebant, non cedebantur*. 2. We may grant it in that Government, because it was absolute, and the Laws were to the Prince but *moral* limitations of *exercise*: And, as I have often acknowledged, Acts of the Princes will, exceeding such limitation, are *potestative*, and must not be resisted: but it will not follow that therefore they are so, in governments where the Laws are limitations of the power it selfe, and *exceeding* acts are not *potestative*. Sure in those times, as patient as the Christians were, under their persecutours, if their Religion and persons had been assaulted without Authority, they would have made Resistance: And this is all we affirme. 2. He makes two inquiries, 1. Whether the first Parliament in Qu. *Elizabeths* reigne might have resisted her endeavours to change the established Religion? Answer, They had sinned in withstanding the introduction of truth, and the Abolition of Falshood; yet civilly and legally they might have done it: and abrogate a Law without the *States* she could not. But, blessed be God there was no such opposition; but a joynt consent of all three Legislative Powers. 2. How can the putting down of *Episcopall Government*, be now justified which stands by Law? Answer, It cannot, unlesse there be a confluence of the consent of all three, nor doe I believe it is intended without the Kings consent, Unlesse their constant doctrine and practise to overthrow the liberties and Government of this Kingdome

into Arbitraries doe prove them *in all their sort subversive*, and inconsistent with its safe being: Let therefore the Doctour and the rest of them looke how they continue to maintain such *destructive Doctrine*; for they will sooner remove themselves out of this Church, then the Subjects out of their ancient and just Liberties.

Sect 2. At length let us see what he sayes against the absolute condition of the *Romane Emperours*. *His other exception is, they were absolute Monarches, and therefore not to be resisted*, p. 79. *Ans.* He doth me manifest injury: See my *Treatise*, I no where so argue; nor have I any need; for I equally affirm it of *limited*, as of *absolute power*, that *they ought not to be resisted*; for they are equally Gods Ordinance, wch extends to *the powers that are*: Neither have I any need of that distinction to satisfie the Apostles Text: I asserted not the absoluteness of the Imperiall authoritie for any such reason: but against his false affirmation, *That that Senate in St Pauls time, might challenge more then our great Councell can now*. Here is apparent ill dealing. But what can he oppose to what I said about the *absoluteness* of those *Roman* Emperours? 1. *It cannot be cleared that they were* de jure *absolute*. *An.* Yes, it can; according to the Doctors own grounds; for, 1. There was a full Conquest made by *Julius Cæsar* in that fatall battell against *Pompey* not only of him; but in and with him, of the whole *Senate*, for *in eo prima acies senatus fuit*, sayes *Seneca*. And the strugling remainders of the *free Senate* were again vanquished in that battle of *Octavius* against *Cassius* and *Brutus*. From that time all being prostrate to his *Will*. 2. There was a submission to an *Absolute* yoake. *Romæ ruere in servitium Consules, Patres, Equites*, sayes *Tacitus*: yea the *Senate* was so forward to it, that *Tiberius* was wont to say, as oft as he went out of the Court, *O homines ad servitutem natos!* 3. There was also an establishment of this subjection by an *Oath*: for the *Senate* and *Armies* were brought under the same bond; and all this before St *Pauls* conversion. That which he brings out of latter Authours, p. 80, of the *Lex regia, quâ populus principi omne suum imperium & potestatem contulit*: and his conjectures of it's not being before *Vespasian* time, is not worth a looking into: It was a formall complement of flattery to give that to him in words, which he had in *power* and *Use* so many yeares before. Also that of their forbearing the *Diadem* and *Title* of King, being contented only with that of *Prince*, was but the putting on a silken vaile upon a rough government. Vnder that smooth Title the people and Senate were held as much under, as the

Seneca. consol. ad Marcian.

Annal. l. 1. f. 1.

Ib. l. 3 f. 11

grand

grand seigneur or *Persian* now hold their Vassals. *But they did perquam diu magnam potestatis partem cum senatu communicare*, p.80. They did so; 'Twas their indulgence, or rather policie to impart it. It is affirmed, not by uncertaine Collections of late Authours; but by *Tacitus*, who is *instar omnium* in this businesse; of *Augustus* the first and best of them all, *Posito Triumviri nomine, consulem se ferens, insurgere paulatim, munia Magistratuum, senatus, Legum in se trahere*; and of *Tiberius*, that *imaginem antiquitatis senatui præbebat*. They conveyed their *will* through the old channell of the *Senate*, that it might relish the better with the people; yet at pleasure did what they listed, by them, and against them. Annal. l. 1. s. 1. l. 3. s. 10.

2. He sayes, *The Apostle in his reason against Resistance hath no respect to the absolute or limited condition of those Roman Emperours.* Nor do I say, he hath: the Reason he urgeth is the *Ordinance of God*, which is true without distinction of the whole latitude of Power. 3. *A limited condition doth no more inferre a lawfullnesse of resistance for exorbitances, then an Absolute*, p. 82. I say no, that it doth; no condition can inferre a lawfulness of Resistance of the Power, though abused; but here is the *priviledge* of a people under a limited Monarch, his *exceeding Acts* are not abuses of Power; but simply *non potestative*; and therefore their Agents may be resisted, without resisting the power; which is not so in an *absolute Rule*; if there were no priviledge, why did men trouble themselves in constituting Limitations, and Mixtures in a State: In a word, unlesse he can prove Power in all Limited States, to be illimited: and all the *Acts of will* in the *supreme* to flow from *Gods Ordinance:* He labours in vain from that text, or any else to conclude against Resistance of subversive Instruments in a mixed Government.

Chap. IX.

His ninth Section Answered: the Reasons against Resistance satisfied: and those for Resistance vindicated.

WE are now come to his *last Section:* In examination of which it will appeare that he hath as little *Reason* as *Scripture* against *that Resistance* which I have asserted in my *Treatise.* Herein he doth two things. 1. Brings his *Reasons* against Resistance. 2. Endeavours to answer those which I brought for it. But for more evident proceeding about both, we must distinctly call to mind the *Question*, of what it is. 1. It is of Resistance *in this sense*; that is, a state Sect. 1.

which I have proved to be *limited* and *mixed* in the very *power* it selfe. 2. It is only of *Resistance of destructive Instruments*: Therefore if his Reasons doe not reach to such a Resistance, they are not to the purpose.

Now against Resistance the Doctour brings no fewer then nine *Reasons*; In his first booke he had only *five*, here he hath made up in number, what they wanted in weight. I will in few words answer them distinctly, for many need not. 1. His first is from the *Wisdom of God putting his people under Kings, without power of Resistance*; *this should be to us instead of a most forceable Reason*, p. 84. *Answ.* Well it may be *instead of one*; but it is not one. For 1. It was their desire to be under an Absolute Government, as their neighbour Countries were; and they offended God in it, as *Lyra* observes; therefore he giving them such a King as they desired; did not in his wisdome intend a *binding firme* for all people: I thinke the Doctour will not affirme he did. 2. If he meane *Resistance of their Prince his Authority and person*, I grant they were so put under; and so are we, and all that are put under *Monarches*; but if he mean the Acts of the Princes will which were not Authoritative; I do denie it, and the former alledged instances prove they were not: and that is all I affirme in other Monarchies.

2. *The Word of God gives no direction for it. The Prophets call not on the Elders for it: The new Testament commends patience in suffering for Well-doing.* *Answ.* 1. In *Civill* matters *negative reasonings* from Scripture are not proving. 2. The word gives proving and imitable examples for it, as before: and indeed the Scripture doth every way justifie resistance of cut-throats and private destructive Assaulters of Laws and Liberties, who have no Authority derived to them; and I defend no other.

3. *The Apostle forbids Resistance of the Powers, not from any compact of the people, but from the Ordinance of God.* 'Tis true: for no compact of people could establish an unresistible Power without the *Ordinance* of God. I acknowledge the Apostles ground for it: and therefore allow no resistance where there is *Gods Ordinance* to secure them, not for any abuse.

4. *To be supreme and next to God implies a security from Resistance*, p. 85. I grant all; His *Person*, his *Power* is hereby secured: I condemn all rising up against the *King*: but instruments of subversion, have nothing

thing of the King in them: not his *person* nor *Authoritie* is risen up against in them. For his conceits about *jus Regis* I have said enough above. Neither doe I give to the *Houses* the power of the *Lacedemonian Ephori*. They had an Authority over the very person of the King: which the *Houses* claime not. I give them no more then *Calvin* doth to the three Estates in their generall meetings. The Doctor well knowes what I will answer him; which he seeks to evade, 1. By affirming that *the Resisting of Instruments acting by his Power, which he hath committed to them, is a resisting of him*, p. 86. 'Tis true, it is so; but we speake of instruments, *which act not by his power*, that is, *his Authoritie*; but *by his will* in a course exceeding the Limitation of his Authority. Could he prove that a limited Prince could commit *Power* to doe acts without the bounds of his *Power*, the *Question* were answered, els he beggs it, but answers it not. 2. *He would desire me to look again upon the two Assertions of the Reverend Divines which I reject: He cannot conceive, how I can retaine my owne Assertion, and reject theirs.* The Doctour hath a great mind to pick some contradiction in me; but still failes in his endeavour. In good earnest, doth he speake really, when he sayes, *he cannot conceive*, &c. Well, let us looke againe on the *two Assertions* which I reject in them. 1. *Governours who under pretence of Authoritie from Gods Ordinance disturbe the quiet and godly life, are farre from being Gods Ordinance in so doing.* 2. *This tyrannie not being Gods Ordinance, they which resist it even with armes, resist not the Ordinance of God.* Doe I defend any *Assertions* equivalent to these. Rather I assert in that Treatise, and here also the contrary. 1. *Governours whither in absolute or limited States, keeping within the measure of their power, may disturbe the quiet and godly life, and yet be Gods Ordinance in that act, though crossing the end of Gods Ordinance in it.* 2. *Powers though abused, yet being Gods Ordinance, they which resist even in abusive acts of it, resist the Ordinance of God.* Is here no difference? Cannot I retaine this Assertion, that *exceeding Acts* in limited Monarchie are not Gods Ordinance, and may in instruments be resisted: And yet reject theirs, who maintain resistance of *Governours themselves, in all acts of abused power?* He makes no difference between *Acts exceeding bounds* of power: and *Acts of abused power*: but of this more then enough before. 3. *But he will answer more particularly, so he had need.* What is it? *He that beares the sword, that is, has the supreme Power, gives Commission to under-Ministers for Justice;*

Justice; and to other Officers for the Militia: If therefore the Resistance of those though abusing their Power, be a resistance of the Power; so it is also of these. *Answ.* I grant all: for it proceeds only of Ministers *abusing Power* committed to them: not of Excesses of Power. I will retort it. Like as if when the *supreme* gives *Commission of Justice* to a *Judge*; and he exceeding unto Acts without the compasse of his Commission is but a private man in those Acts and may be resisted: so if *Commission of Armes* be given to a *Generall*, &c.

5. *Subjection is due to a Prince, and the contrary forbidden without distinction of a good and bad Prince.* I grant it, and give the reason, because they are *Gods Ordinance*: but the Question is of instruments of exceeding Acts, in which they are not Gods Ordinance.

6. *Good reason that he which hath the supreme Trust, should have the greatest securitie*, p. 87. *Answ.* It is so; and so we grant him: for he hath a full security from all violence for both *Person* and *Authoritie*, what ever exorbitance he breakes out unto. The people have not so: Every Subject being under the penalty of the Law for it's transgressions. But the Doctor forgets his *Clients*, He is not arguing for securitie of *Soveraignes*; but *Subiects*, if they may be so called; which endeavour to subvert lawes and governments. But may we not also say, as it is good reason the supreme should have the greatest securitie; so the people also should have some securitie; and not be exposed like bruit beasts to the savage lusts of every instrument of cruelty: having only this to comfort them, that they sin in so doing? and so they doe, which with cruelty destroy even the bruit creatures.

7. *From the end and benefits of Government, for the enjoying of which, it is good reason we should beare with the exorbitances.* Still he speakes *good reason*; but nothing to the purpose; for we dispute not of *exorbitances* of them who have the power; but of them who have *no power* for what they doe. In exorbitances of lesser nature, their will may secure instruments; but it is against reason, that the benefits we have by their Government should cause us to beare with them who would destroy their lawes and government, for of such is the Question. I wonder here againe he brings *Calvin*, when he cannot but know that he is expresly for power of Resistance in the Houses; and no doubt *P. Martyr*, and the rest follow *Calvin* in this.

8. *Power of Resistance in Subiects would be a remedie worse then the disease, and more subversive of a State, then if it were left without it*, p. 90.

Why

Why would it be so? *It would be a continuall Seminary of jealousies twixt Prince and people, and confusion through the continuance of the mischiefes of Warre.* Concerning this Argument of his, see p. 60. of my Treatise, where it is fully satisfied. 1. Who will believe the power of Resisting destructive instruments, should be more destructive, then to let them alone without Resistance? 2. Suppose *by abuse of this power* those evils should happen (for it so falls out to the best physicke, where the nocumentous humours are prevailing) yet this is but by *accident*: such Power *per se* and of its owne nature tends to the preventing of subversion. On the contrary by woefull experience, this Doctrine of the unresistiblenesse of such men, hath nursed up a brood of audacious projectours, and where it is taught, a *State* will never be without them. Whereas, if the Truth were knowne it would restraine the spirits of wicked men from *parricide* and *State subversion*. Neither can any thing be more mischievous, then to teach an impunitie for projectours, and Agents of mischiefe: and he hath not the reason of a man who argues other wise. 3. Neither can this doctrine, as the *Replier* traduces it, extend to the *deposing of Princes*, or the *diminishing* of their Authority, for it concernes only their *Instruments*, not their *Persons*; their Absolute, extra-legall *Will*; not their *Authority*. And for *jealousies*, they will be more bred by that Doctrine which gives the *Prince* a Power to undoe the *State*, then by that which terminates *both*; and gives *neither* a power to subvert the *other*; Danger is the nurse of jealousie: that which takes away *power of hurting* takes away *Danger*; and so removes *jealousies*: but indeed such which have a plot of breaking up the hedge of Government, and bringing lawlesse powers into a State, care not for having such a Power in those *Houses* whom it would cause them to feare, and looke on with *continuall jealousies*. The *Homily* of Rebellion is in vaine cleved against that which is no rebellion.

9. The last and weakest of all is that of *the hearts of Kings being in Gods hands*, Prov. 21.1. and that of *Gods Covenant with David and his seed*, 2 Chron. 6.16. & 7.17. How the Doctor can draw hence a conclusion against Resistance of subversive instruments, I cannot imagine. Sure if these Texts had any proving force in them, they had not been brought so late: Rather their place had been in the former Section, where in the close he saies, *He chose onely to insist on those Texts which we sir'd to bear argument*: but here he hath broke his word, yet he is excusable, for he had no better.

Sect. 1. At length he comes to my Arguments brought *for Resistance*. If they be not more concluding then his, would they had never seen the light, nor come to the eye of any judicious man. Let us see what he hath to say to them.

1. That Resistance is lawfull which is no Resistance of the Ordinance of God; but this of subversive instruments is not, being neither of the Person nor Authority of the Prince. He sayes, *He hath proposed and answered this above under his third and fourth Reasons.* And there I doubt not but the invaliditie of his *Answer* doth plainly appeare.

2. Without this Power of Resistance all limitation of Government is vaine; and all formes resolve into that which is arbitrary. He tels me, *My Argument is inconsequent by my owne description of Absolute Monarchie: so that the restraint of a limited Monarch is Legall and Morall, not forceable and Military*, p. 93. I answer, I describe limited and Absolute Monarchie not by *Force*; but the having or not having *abounds* of Will; but how absurd it is when the *distinctive conceit* in the definition of a limited Monarch, is *a Law terminating his Will*, to take it of a *morall* terminating, which is common to all, not only Monarches but men? Especially sith I explaine my selfe so fully afterwards, as I doe, there p. 7. in the three degrees of absolutenesse. But I have above enough discovered the fraud and falshood of his confounding of *Legall* and *morall* Limitation; and have prooved that to give a Limited Monarch only a morall Limitation, is to resolve all into Absolute and Arbitrary, for the most absolute under heaven hath morall limitation.

3. Such Power is due to a publique State for its preservation which is allowed to a particular person. He answers, *this is not universally true.* Why not? a State is more worthy, and comprehends a multitude of particular men: doth *number* detract from their *priviledge?* He would seeme to have reason for his deniall: *A private man hath by the law of nature power of self-preservation against the force of another private man; yet is this power yeelded up in regard of Civill Power, and not to be used against persons indued with such power*, p. 94. 1. He still speakes Truth; but not to the Question: which is not of persons *indued with civill power*, but such as we have proved to have *no power*; grant them *endued with power*, neither a particular man: or a whole Community must resist them: but having none, it is much more allowable in a *publique* state, then a *particular* person. 2. He speakes of a *power yeelded up*,

as

as if in all governments the people doe simply yeeld up all power of Resistance into a full subjection unto all Acts of the Princes will: Whereas we have prooved, that in limited Governments it is not so: but to the Princes Will measured and regulated by a Law; and therefore they have that power still, in respect of all instruments of acts of Will not so regulated.

But it is observable, that *p* 95. the Doctour is beaten off from his owne grounds, and yeelds up in the *Close* of his booke a full Victory to Truth. Which will appeare if we looke backe to his first booke, and *Sect.* 1. where he proposeth the Question in his own termes, *whither if a King be bent or seduced to subvert Religion, Laws and Liberties, Subjects may take up armes and resist.* He undertakes to maintaine the *Negative*; and here was the beginning of the controversie. Now see in this *Replie* how he is sunck and stollen off from that which he undertooke to defend; and upon the matter grants us the *Cause*. For, 1. By *bent or seduced to subvert*, he tels us, he means not a purpose of the mind, *but doing many Acts arbitrarily tending to subversion*; as if he would yeeld, that (supposing him bent, that is purposing and intending it in his mind and course) he might be resisted. 2. Nay, by [*bent to subvert*] he does not meane so much as *Acts subversive*; but onely *Acts tending to subversion of themselves*; *for the frame of government and Lawes cannot be subverted without the consent of the two Houses.* So that now the Question is rather, *Whither subversion be possible* by such instruments; then *Whether their Resistance be lawfull*: Sure it were pitty to disturbe them by Resistance in an impossible worke: Let them run on rather till they see their owne vanity and folly: but suppose they should bring it to passe; then it would be too late to come to this Doctor and tell him, he was deceived, and did deceive. Certainly those great Polititians who have had this designe in managing so many yeares, are not of his mind. Yea, suppose it cannot be done *without the consent of the Houses*; yet the Doctour can tell us in another case, that where there is an unresistible power, *Consent cannot long be wanting*. What then; will he yeeld us a power of Resistance, if we can proove such a designe possible?

Here also because the Doctor sayes *this liberty which I allow a State for its preservation, tends rather to its subversion*, p. 94. and every where calumniates me as an inducer of *confusion*, and *Anarchie*, and my Assertions as opening a way to *Rebellion*. It concernes me effectual-

ly to vindicate my selfe, and the truth which I maintaine from these aspersions; and make it appeare that the power of Resistance I defend is not a remedy worse then the disease of subversion. Which I can doe no better way, then by a positive setting downe the naked truth which I averre in this and the former Treatise; and shew how it shuts up every way to these evills which he layes uncharitably to my charge. 1. I assert no forceable Resistance in any case but *subversive* and *extreme*. 2. Subversive and extreme cases respect either particular men, or the whole state and Government. For *particular men* even in extreme cases of state or life, I allow no *publike* Resistance: but appeale if it may be had; or if not, yet no *publike* Resistance: for whether the wrong be done him by inferiour or superiour Magistrates, either it is 1. Under forme and course of Law, and power committed them; and then to resist, is to resist the *power*. 2. Or without all forme and course of Law and power committed to them: and then a man values his state and life too high, to make *publike* resistance, and bring on the state a *generall disturbance* for his *private* good, and sins, though not against Gods ordinance of Power, in this case, yet against the *publike peace and weale*. For the *whole state or government*, and the last cases of its subversion, of which the Doctor puts the Question. 1. I condemne all force used against the Person of the supreme, or his Power and Authority in any inferiour Ministers thereof. 2. I averre not publike forceable resistance of Ministers of acts of will which are only *actuall invasions*, or *excesses of limitation*; and not such as plainly argue a *best of subversion*, and *apparent danger* thereof, if prevention be not used: so that the Doctor goes from the Question, and comes home to me, when he sayes here that he speakes only of the former sort. 3. I affirme not force in this utmost case to be assumed by *private men* against destructive instruments of the Princes will: as if any man were warranted on his own imagination of publike danger to raise forces for prevention. But the *Courts of Justice*, and especially *the supreme Court*, to whom the *conservation of Government and Law* is committed, and a Power not only to resist, but also censure and punish its violaters, much more its subverters without regard of *number* or *warrant*, (The Law supposing no warrant can be in such case) This is the power of Resistance which I have asserted: and if this be inducing of *civill warre*, or a *way to subversion* and *Rebellion*: It is a *warre* raised by *defenders of Law*, against *subverters of Law*: A *Rebellion* raised by *Magistrates*

ministers having Authority, against instruments of arbitrarinesse having no authority: A resistance tending to subversion, but of none but *subverters.* 'Tis good reason then, it seemes, if destroyers grow to the number and strength of an Army, for Magistrates to let them alone, and not raise armes to suppresse them, lest they open a way to confusion and bring on the miseries of a civill Warre. This is the Doctors *preservative* Doctrine, and my contrary is *destructive.* 4. I argued from the *end* of the institution of the Houses, and their interest in making Laws, and preserving the frame. He sayes *this is grounded on my false supposall of their being joyned with the King in the very soveraigne power,* p. 96. Answer, I have justified that supposall, and manifested his strange boldnesse in denying it against the *Kings,* and so many *Parliaments* direct affirmations; and desire the reader to take notice, that this is *Calvins* argument for Resistance, in the place above recited, how ever the Doctor doth make so light of it.

5. From the power of *inferiour Courts* to punish violaters of Law, though pretending a warrant of the Kings will for it. He sayes *this Argument is inconsequent to prove power of raysing Armies to oppose the Forces of their Soveraigne.* He hastens to a conclusion, and weighs not much what he answers. I say it concludes *inevitably*: for if the Kings warrant to violate Law, will not priviledge *one* from force of justice, then not a *hundred,* not *an Army* of violaters. Their *multitude* makes the danger *greater,* and the Kingdome *more unhappy*; not Malefactors *more priviledged. The forces of the Soveraigne* in truth, are the *Forces raised to defend his Government*; not those which are raised to subvert it. They are his, which have his *Authoritative Will*; not those which have only his *arbitrary.* If ever Reasons did demonstrate a truth, I am confident these *five* have made good, *The power of the estates in Parliament to resist subversive instruments,* be they more or fewer.

Thus have I traced this Author through his *Reply*; and whether Sect. 3.
I have not sufficiently vindicated my *Treatise* from it, I referre my selfe to the conscience of every one who hath the *understanding* of a *judicious* man; and the *impartiality* of a *just man.* In my cap. 8. *is a moderate debate* of the present contention; and divers *Petitions tending to pacification* if it had been possible: but he toucheth not on that chapt. His discourse shewes him to have nothing to doe with *Moderation*; nor doth desire *Peace,* but on the termes of a full dedition

into the hands of subversive instruments. I have done with him: *He resolved*, I Answered. *He hath replyed.* I have returned on it. I am even with him; and in truth above him, I am sure. Now I desire to spin out this contention no longer. Yet if he, or any else please to rejoyne, I wish he would save himselfe, and me labour: to let alone the booke; and deale only with the 4th and 5th Chapters concerning the Doctors supposals; if he can make good them; and invalidate mine, as much as in me lieth, I will yeild him the cause: but I judge it impossible, if I know what is impossible. *The God of spirits allay the spirits of men from this extreme opposition: And give such a issue to these woefull warrs, that the Scepter of Christ, the Gospell of Peace may be fully submitted to and maintained by a King enjoying inviolate his due soveraignty; and a People their due and lawfull liberties,* Amen.

PHIL. 4. 5.

Let your moderation be known unto all men: The Lord is at hand.

FINIS.

CATALOGUE

of remarkable mercies conferred upon the ſeven Aſſociated Counties, *viz.*

Cambridge, Eſſex, Hartford, Huntingdon, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Lincoln.

Printed by the command of the *Right Honourable*

EDWARD,

Earl of Mancheſter, *the Major Generall thereof, and the Committee now reſiding in* CAMBRIDGE:

And appointed to be publiſhed in the ſeverall Pariſh-Churches of the aforenamed Counties, upon the ſeventh of *April*, being the day of Thankſgiving, that Almighty God may have the glory due unto his Name.

Hereunto is annexed an Order for the more ſolemn keeping of the Publick Faſt.

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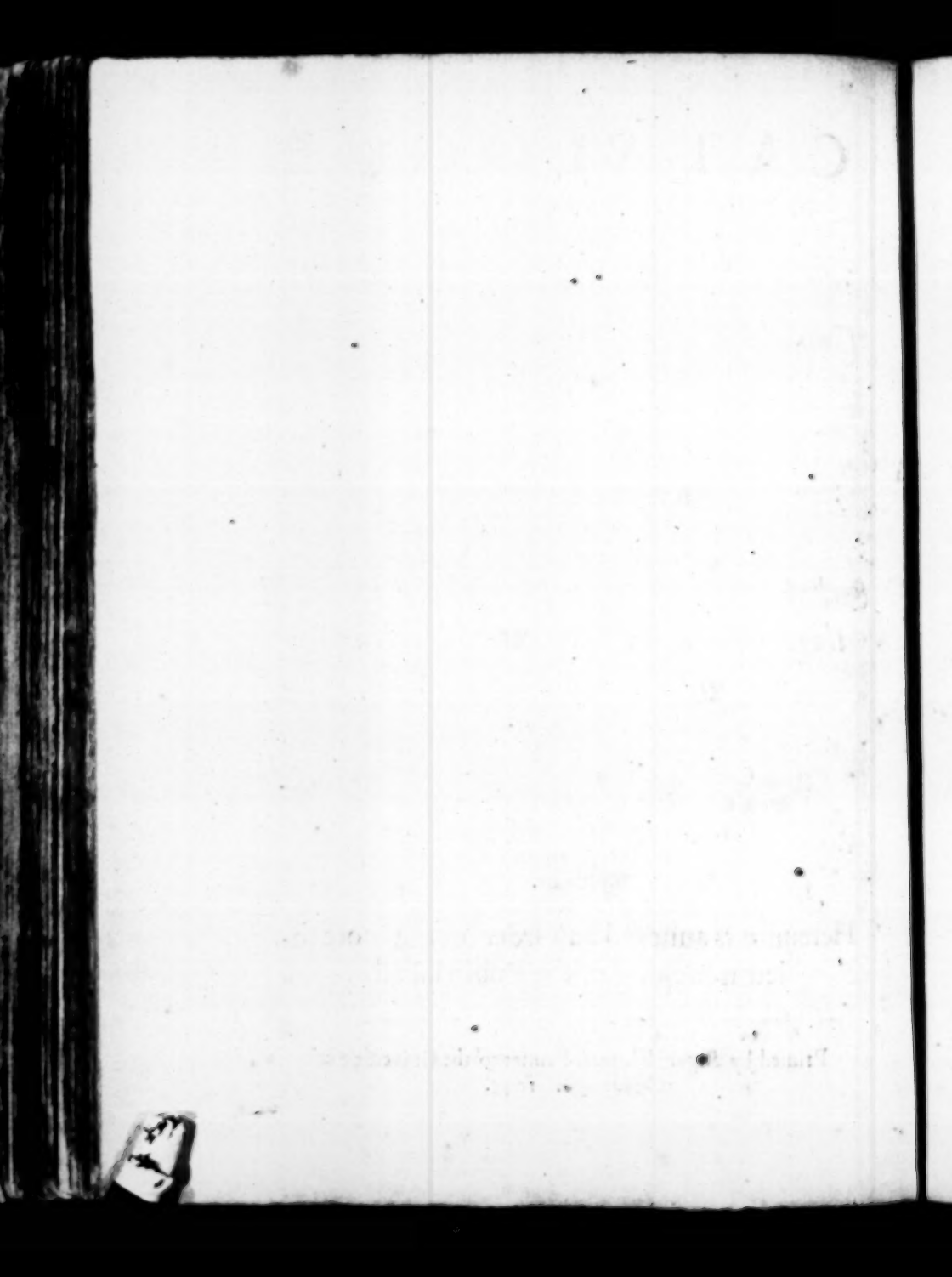

¶ A Catalogue of remarkable mercies conferred upon the ſeven Aſſociated Counties.

AMidſt the ſeverall miſeries and diſtractions under which this Kingdome hath groaned ſince this unnaturall warre began by the enemies of our Religion and Liberties, God hath been pleaſed in his meer grace to raiſe unto us many means of preſervation: otherwiſe undoubtedly we had been, long before this time, under the power of theſe enemies. Among which means this is not the leaſt, that God put it into the heart of the Parliament, to aſſociate theſe Counties for the mutuall defence one of another, and the good of the Kingdome in generall. Neither are the ſucceſſes which God hath been pleaſed to give the forces raiſed by theſe Aſſociated Counties to be forgotten, but to be had in thankfull remembrance of all that love and fear God. Therefore our deſire is, that God (who is onely to be acknowledged in all theſe deliverances and happy victories) may have the glory due unto his name: And to that end, a day of publick Thankſgiving be ſolemnly kept & obſerved upon the Lords day, being the ſeventh of April *inſtant, in all the Congregations within this Aſſociation; and that the people be ſtirred up by their Miniſters to acknowledge the goodneſſe of God, for inclining the Parliament to cauſe theſe Counties thus to be knit together for the ends aforeſaid, and for his bleſſing given to their forces, which have been employed in ſeverall parts of this Kingdome, and in particular to call to mind theſe things following.*

I. THe quenching that fire kindled at *Layſtaff*, which would undoubtedly have hazarded all the Eaſt parts of this Kingdome, if God had not by a ſeaſonable providence timely prevented the ſame, breaking it in that very conjuncture of time in which there was a confederacy of the diſaffected of thoſe parts to gather to a head.

2 The reducing *Croyland*, which was a place ſtrong by ſituation, and which had a profeſſed Papiſt for the Governour, which how dangerous it was to ſome parts of this Aſſociation, and to the neighbouring parts of *Lincolnſhire*, *Nerthamptonſhire*, and *Huntingdonſhire*, is well known to thoſe that were ſubject to their daily plundrings and pillagings.

3 The defeat given to the enemies at *Grantham*, where eleven of the Parliament Troops facing one or two and twenty of the enemies, five of the Aſſociated Troops charging the right wing of the enemies body, utterly routed them, and had the execution and chaſe of them almoſt two miles, and got five or ſix of their colours.

4 The taking *Burlygh* houſe, where was alſo taken the Lords *Camdens* regiment of horſe, with their colours, three or foure companies of Foot and Dragooneers, with all their ammunition, with about 400. priſoners.

5 The defeat given to the enemies horſe at *Gainsborough*, to the breaking of near thirty troops of the enemie; where was ſlain the Lieutenant Generall *Charles Cavendiſh:* Colonel *Heron*, the High Sheriffe of *Lincolnſh.* forced into *Trent*, with many other Officers and Souldiers, and there drowned, whereby *Gainsborough* was at that time relieved with ammunition, which then it exceedingly wanted; and this battel fought, and victory gotten, as without any conſiderable loſſe to us, ſo within a mile of the Marqueſſe of *Newcaſtles* Army.

6 The ſaving near twenty Troops of horſe belonging to the Lord *Fairfax*, and under that renowned Gentleman Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, his ſonne, with which horſe he hath ſince performed ſuch notable good ſervice in *Cheſhire*, and other parts; which ſaid horſe were almoſt ſtarved by the

the ſtraight ſiege of *Hull*, and could not in probability have been thence delivered but by the horſe of this Aſſociation, which was done by fourteen Troops of horſe and three of Dragoons belonging to this Aſſociation, there being nothing in aſſiſtance of them, but ſix Troops belonging to the Lord *Willoughby*, and near fourty Troops of the enemy under the command of Sir *John Hinderſon*, who had opportunity to have fought with our horſe before we could come to joyn with Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his horſe, if he had pleaſed, but did not take it.

7 The taking of *Lin*, a ſtrong town and of great importance, by raw and undiſciplined new raiſed ſouldiers; which was a place as likely to have undone this whole Aſſociation as any, which rebelled at ſuch a time as the Marqueſſe of *Newcaſtle* was at the ſtrongeſt, and ſo abſolute in *Lincolnſhire*, that if he would have engaged his Army to have come to the reſcue thereof, the forces of this Aſſociation then raiſed, had not been conſiderable to have made reſiſtance.

8 The fight at *Winsby*, where ours being about fifty colours of horſe and dragoons, did encounter near ninety colours of the enemie: both parties being by eſtimate between eight and nine thouſand horſe and dragoons, the enemie being in all probability about five thouſand of that number, where we gave him ſuch a defeat, that we took and killed about 1100. of them, and took near thirty of their colours.

9 The taking of *Lincoln*, where the force of the defendants were in computation many more then of the aſſailants, which the enemie ſurrendred up to us upon hard terms to themſelves, where we got about 3000. Arms, the enemies colours, with good proportion of ammunition, and five or ſix pieces of Ordnance.

10 The

10 The taking of *Gainsborough* by ſtorm, the greateſt part of the foot being our men, who repulſed the enemie, got over their works without any loſſe, and poſſeſſed the town, whereby *Lincolnſhire* (formerly almoſt totally under the enemies power) became wholly cleared of them.

11 And laſtly, the taking of *Hilſden* houſe, which a week before the garriſon of *Ailsbury* attempted but could not take, after which time and before we endeavoured it, the enemie ſent in two or three loads of ammunition; where were taken above 200. priſoners, about twelve barrels of powder and proportionable match, all their arms, and about fifty horſe, which ſervice was much to the eaſe and comfort of the poore inhabitants of the almoſt waſted County of *Buckingham*, which was oppreſſed by them, and by the countenance of which houſe great ſummes of money and contributions were raiſed both for themſelves and *Oxford*; and a regiment of foot, and the completing Colonel *Smiths* regiment of horſe was ſpeedily intended. Where alſo were taken men of quality, Sir *A. Denton*, and Colonel *Smith*, beſides two field Officers and divers Captains.

Theſe things are thus particularly recited (not for vain oſtentation, nor that any honour ſhould be given to any perſon, no nor to your forces, but) that by commemorating particulars, your hearts may be enlarged and quickned in ſincerity to give God the glory due alone to him. Let your confidence be evermore placed in God, and when we again go out, we deſire your prayers to the Lord, profeſſing our truſt to be in his Name, and our rejoycing in hope we ſhall have his preſence to go along with us: in this we reſt: And therefore let the Name of God alone be glorified by all, through Chriſt for evermore.

¶ An

An Order for the more ſolemn keeping *of the Publick Faſt.*

Hereas the Lords and Commons in Parliament, have made an Ordinance for the more ſtrict and ſolemn keeping of the dayes of publick Faſt, which are not by all perſons duely obſerved, even in theſe times of publick calamitie, to the great diſhonour of God, and the contempt of the Authority of both Houſes of Parliament.

Now that more particular notice may be given unto all ſuch as ſhall offend herein, before any exemplary puniſhment be inflicted upon them, it is Ordered by the Commons now aſſembled in Parliament, that all Conſtables, or their deputies, ſhall the day before every publick Faſt, repair unto every houſe within their ſeverall and reſpective liberties, and charge all perſons that they ſtrictly obſerve the Faſt, according to the directions in the ſaid Ordinance.

And they ſhall upon the ſaid dayes of publick Faſt, walk through their ſaid liberties, diligently ſearching for, and taking notice of all perſons, who either by following the works of their callings, or

ſitting

ſitting in Taverns, Victualling and Alehouſes, or any other wayes ſhall not duely obſerve the ſame; and they are hereby required to return the names of all ſuch perſons as they ſhall find ſo offending, as alſo ſuch informations as they ſhall receive againſt any other perſons within their liberties guilty of the leaſt offence, unto the Committee for Examinations, that ſo they may be proceeded againſt for the contempt of the ſaid Ordinance. And all Conſtables are to obſerve theſe directions from time to time, ſo long as the publick Faſt ſhall be kept, without expecting any further Order.

Hen. Elſinge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

FINIS.

The New Declaration of both Houses of Parl. concerning Treaties of Peace from Oxford.
Captain Swanleys successe in Pembrokeshire.
Some skirmishes betweene Sir Wil. Belfore and the L. Heptons Forces.

Numb. 14/44

Lord Generall.

K. P. London

Mercurius Civicus:
LONDONS
INTELLIGENCER:
OR,
Truth impartially related from thence to the whole Kingdome, to prevent miſ-information.

From *Thurſday March* 21. to *Thurſday March* 28. 1644.

THe Declaration of the Parliament to undeceive the people from the many falſe and ſpecious pretences of Peace at Oxford hath now paſſed both Houſes of Parliament, and will be ſhortly publiſhed in print; in the meane time (in regard it is of ſo great concernment) I ſhall give you a briefe account thereof. It is therein declared, That whereas both Houſes of

Parliament had notice given them by the Lord Generall the Earle of Eſſex, of divers Letters ſent unto him by the Earle of Forth, and of a Writing in Parchment dated at Oxford, and ſubſcribed by divers Lords and Gentlemen, directed to the ſaid Earle of Eſſex, and alſo of another Letter ſubſcribed by his Majeſty, and directed thus, *To the Lords and Commons of Parliament aſſembled at Weſtminſter*; which by intimation given by the Earle of Forth in his Letter, wherein it was incloſed, ſeemed to bee intended for the two Houſes of Parliament, they did take the ſame into their ſerious conſideration, and the rather becauſe it carried with it a rumour and pretence of a Treaty of Peace, which (accompanied with truth) hath been alwayes their deſire, and ſhall be their faithfull indeavours to effect: But further declaring, That they having truly weighed the ſame, with the circumſtances thereof, they doe finde it ſo far from any aime or intention to Peace, that under the maske and title thereof, it appeares to make our unhappy diſtractions and miſeries more laſting, and the war more irreconcileable.

For the further manifeſtation whereof they declare, That the Authors and Fomenters of our ſad calamities, becauſe they foreſaw the ſubverſion of this Parliament would bee of an hard digeſtion with the people, they would firſt preſent it under the diſguiſe of Peace, and therefore his Majeſty in his application thereunto, muſt by his Letter deny the freedome and continuance thereof, and make way to the ſetting up of another at Oxford, ſtiling that Convention by the name of, *The Lords and Commons of Parliament aſſembled at Oxford* (being the ſame title that is given to the Parliament) ſo that being now tempted by that ſpecious pretence to acknowledge the diſſolution of this Parliament, which ſhould they aſſent unto, would not onely deprive us and our poſterity of the preſent, but of the hopes and capacity of any Parliament, and ſo at one blow cut in ſunder the chiefe ſupport and pillars of our Lawes and Liberties, which deſigne was long ſince contrived at Oxford, as appears by the Lord *Digbies* intercepted Letter dated the 27. of December laſt.

But in caſe this advice ſhould be rejected, then they would take the advantage thereby to perſwade the world they at Oxford do labour for, and the Parliament was averſe to Peace.

And therefore that the ſincerity of their actions, and the malice

and

and ſubtilty of their adverſaries may be the more clearly diſcovered, they have thought it their duty (with the advice and concurrence of the Commiſſioners of the Kingdome of Scotland) to publiſh their proceedings to the world, and to declare, That as it hath alwayes beene, and ever ſhall be their earneſt and faithfull endeavours to put an end to the troubles and dangerous diſtemper of this Kingdome by a happy and well grounded Peace, ſo it is their reſolution, in diſcharge of the truſt repoſed in them, never to purchaſe it with the loſſe and ruine of their Religion and Liberty, having before their eyes the ſad ſpectacle of that wofull Kingdom of Ireland, which (after the expence of ſo much innocent blood in defence of the Proteſtant Religion) is under the falſe gloſſe of Peace ſubjected and brought under the power of Popery and Superſtition.

For the effecting of all which horrid and pernicious ends in this Kingdome alſo, a more likely way could not be effected by the malicious enemies thereof, to involve others in the ſame guilt, then thoſe Lords and Commons now met at Oxford, who had already (contrary to their duty and the truſt repoſed in them by their Country) deſerted the Parliament, and aſſiſted a warre againſt it; and had there beene any doubt or ſuſpition of their Conſcience in that deſigne, the very place of meeting, being the head Quarters of a popiſh Army, whoſe cauſe they are there to conſult of, would be a rod ſharpe enough to ſecure them from that feare, and it doth ſufficiently appeare they have anſwered their expectation; for, they have aſſumed the forme and expreſſed the power of a Parliament; they ſit in two diſtinct places, terming one the Houſe of Peeres, and the other the Houſe of Commons, and they have made the Lord *Littleton* Speaker of that they call the Houſe of Peers, and Serjeant *Esme* of the other. They have granted 100000 l. for the maintenance and recruting of the Forces raiſed againſt the Parliament and Kingdome, and have adviſed the ſame to be leavied upon the people in an arbitrary way, under Privy Seales by colour of Law, which by their conſent and pretended authority is put in execution, as appeares by the Privy Seales themſelves ſigned by the ſaid Lord *Littleton* and Sergeant *Esme*; and what is beyond all, and without the power and capacity of a Parliament, they have declared another Kingdome, and the Parliament it ſelfe, guilty of high Treaſon. All which both Houſes offer to any ſober and indifferent judgement, whether there

can be an higher attempt to shake off and cut in sunder all bonds of Law and Government, and bring the people under the yoke and bondage of an absolute tyranny, then this is.

But they further declare, That when they consider the persons the said Idoll is composed of, it produceth no great wonder, consisting not onely of such who for betraying the trust reposed in them by their Country, have been justly excluded the Parliament, but of the L. *Digby*, *Percy*, *Jermin*, and others, who even before these unhappy differences have been legally impeached and questioned in Parliament for high Treason, and being convinc'd in their owne consciences thereof, fled the Kingdome to avoyd their triall.

In fine: Both Houses of Parliament addressing themselves to His Majesty, doe with all humility and plainenesse take the said opportunity, in answer to His Majesties said Letter, to declare the duty they owe unto their Country for whom they are intrusted, as the allegiance they owe to Him, and that without apparent breach of both they cannot stand to any Treaty upon the Termes expresst in His Majesties Letter, and likewise doe tender unto him their humble advice of a safe and ready way to put an end to the present sad conditions of His Majesties Dominions. And that they shall never cease by their continuall and earnest prayers to Almighty God to implore him, that yet at length he would incline his Royall heart to be thoroughly sensible of these unhappy divisions that have occasioned so much innocent blood to staine the Land, and by hearkning to the joynt advice of both Kingdomes now happily united in the common cause by their solemne League and Covenant, put an happy issue to all these troubles.

This they thought necessary to declare, to the end the world may see our reall endeavours to attaine a safe and just peace, as the indefatigable practices of those Popish and Jesuiticall Councels (the instruments of all our miseries) who are content to appeare in all shapes, and leave no meanes unattempted to compasse their owne ends. First, they would have undermined the Parliament by secret practices, then they would have forced them by open warre, and now they would allure them by the specious pretence of peace, to disavow this Parliament, and our just rights and priviledges, and consequently resigne our selves, Religion and Liberties, to the power of Idolatry, Superstition, and Tyranny.

And

And conclude, That they are constantly resolved in discharge of the duty they owe to God, the trust reposed in them by their Country, and their late solemne Oath and Covenant with the hazzard of their lives and fortunes to defend the subjects lawfull rights and liberties, the freedome and privilledges of this present Parliament, and which is above all, the true Protestant Religion; wherein they doubt not but to receive the hearty concurrence and assistance of all wel-affected Protestants, and true lovers of their Countrey and Liberty.

What greater encouragement can be expected by all free-borne English-men, and loyall Subjects to His Majesty, then to have not only the assistance but the president of so many unparalleld Worthies and eminent Patriots to joyne with them for the vindication of the true Religion, their Laws and liberties, which should be sufficient without any other arguments to make them unanimously joyn together for that purpose. And doubtlesse the Lord of Hosts whose assistance we principally relie upon will grant a blessed and happy successe to all their endeavours.

For Newes out of *Wales* we have this weeke very good, that the valiant Captaine *Swanley* hath (since the taking of the *Globe* of *Bristol*, and other ships, and possessing himselfe of the ships and Ordnance at *Milford-haven*) taken another ship of 120 Tun, with 24 pieces of Ordnance, laden with Armes and other provisions which were bound for *Bristol*: he hath sent some of the ships he tooke in *Milford-haven* laden with Sea-coals toward *London*, which will be a meanes to abate the price of them in regard they come as well from *Wales* as *Sunderland*. He hath also landed his men in *Pembrokeshire* in *Wales*, where joyning with the *Pembroke-castle* forces he hath cleared that County of the Cavaliers, from whence they are marching to reduce the County of *Montgomery*, and other places there unto the obedience of the King and Parliament.

Plymouth is yet in a secure condition (notwithstanding the report of the malignants) there being very few forces in those parts, most of them being drawne forth for the assistance of the L. *Hopton*, whose chiefe Rendezvous is at *Winchester*, neere which place Sir *Wil. Wallers* forces, being about 10 thousand are drawne, and the *London*-Regiments are quartered at *Trasord* about 6 miles from *Winchester*. And none of them have yet been ingaged in fight, though some confident reports have been to that purpose.

For

For the businesse of *Newarke*, which I shall rather mention in regard of caution then relation, It is briefly and really thus: Pr. *Rupert* (or some bearing his name) being joyned with Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Col. *Hastings* his forces, on Thursday morning last, March. 21. they came to *Balderton* neere *Newarke*; whereupon our horse were drawne up to face them, and after a short skirmish wherein some prisoners were taken on both sides, and our Ordnance having done much execution upon the enemy, they wheeled away; and the foote thereupon finding themselves unable to deale with so Potent an enemy, desired a parley, which being accepted, Sir *Michael Hubbard* and Sir *John Paygrave*, Colonels of the *Norfolke* forces, went that night about 9 of the clocke to treat, and about 10 of the clocke the next morning these following Articles were concluded upon between both parties:

1. *That the besiegers should leave all their Artillery and Ammunition, and Fire-armes.*

2. *That all their Foot-souldiers should march away with their Swords, Pikes, and Colours.*

3. *That all their Horse-men and Dragoones should march away with their Horses, Swords, and Colours.*

4. *That all Officers and their servants should march away with their Horses, Swords, Pistols, Money, Bag and Baggage.*

5. *That they should have a convey for their safe conduct two miles beyond the Princes utmost Quarters.*

But our Foot marching forth according to agreement, the perfidious enemy, as if they would joyne with the Papists both in practices and tenents, of which this is one, *Nulla fides conservanda cum hæreticis*: that no faith is to be kept with heretickes, or (as their usuall Title now is,) Rebels, they tooke away their Colours, Swords, and Pykes, and fell to plundering and pillaging of the Officers and other Souldiers, some of their clothes, or of whatsoever else of value, which no question will be a meanes to make the Parliaments forces (having so often been deluded with the like pretences to be the more cautious, and not to submit themselves to the enemies mercy unlesse in cases of extraordinary disadvantage and when they have no other hope.

We lost in this unhappy action 3000 Armes with much Ammunition, 2 Morter-pieces, 1 Demi Cannon, 1 Sacre and 7 Drakes. There were about 500 of our foot which were on the North-side of the

Towne

Towne who escaped away with their Armes toward *Lincoln*, and the rest went thither and to *Gainsborough*, where they are now supplying themselves with Armes and recruting themselves, as much as is possible till further reliefe. And indeed had there beene a reserve at hand to have followed the enemies forces, this losse might (in all probability) have been prevented; the negligence of that particular (being the practice of the most experienced Commanders abroad) and the ambition of some, and covetousnesse of other Commanders and Officers, who desire rather their owne honour and profit, then Gods glory and the welfare, and successe of the Parliament, have beene the cause of many former, and principally this late losse; but this will very shortly be more strictly enquired into. It is therefore very necessary that there should not onely care be taken for the reforming and recrutall, but also that a course should be taken to provide a reserve, to be ready to be drawne forth to assist our forces upon any designe. In this passage of Divine providence we may behold the mercy as well as the justice of Almighty God, who although by reason of many *Achans* both in our Armies and Cities he suffered this our designe to be frustrate, yet he hath given unto most of our Souldiers their lives for a prey, so that they may yet live to fight his battels. For the Malignants in and about *London* and other parts who have declared themselves so frolik and joyous of these tidings, let them in the first place read *Micah* 7. 9, 10, 11. and also let them looke backe to the severall overthrowes of the Oxonian Rebels neere *Horn-castle*, the taking of *Lincoln*, *Gainsborough*, all in *Lincolnshire*, the defeat given to the L. *Byron* and the Irish forces neere *Nampwich*; upon our successe at *Alton*, *Arundell*, *Grafton-house*, Sir *Alexander Dentons*, and other places, and they will soone be convinced upon parallel that they have no great cause to boast of their last Winters proceedings.

There have beene severall skirmishes the last weeke betweene severall parties of Sir *William Belfores* horse, upon their advancing from their Quarters at Petersfield and Portsmouth, and some other of *Haptons* Forces, wherein they have taken about twenty horse of the enemies; but for the report of the routing of two Regiments of the enemy, and of the taking seven Troops of horse, it is false and fictious, purposely raised by the Malignants to disturbe and amuse the people.

[The

The Earle of Manchester marched from Cambridge, Saturday March 23. with 1200 horse and 3000 foot, to whom Colonell *Cromwell* is also joyned with 1500 horse. On Tuesday last we had intelligence that they kept their head Quarters at Stamford in Lincolnshire. Sir *John Gell* is also to advance with a party from Derby, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* with his horse is to come to Nottingham, all which are to joyne with our Forces at Gainsborough and Lincoln to secure that and the Counties adjacent from the Rapine, Violence, and Plunderings of the enemy. The Lord of Hosts prosper their proceedings.

From Oxford we have intelligence, That Sir *Charles Vavasor* was buried about a fortnight since.

That the Queene (being now great with Childe) is shortly to go to Exceter, many of her Carriages and Provisions being already gone before to the said City.

On Tuesday last, March 26. both Houses of Parliament passed an Ordinance for the contribution of the value of one meale in the weeke towards the charge of arming and forming into Regiments the Auxiliary forces now raising within the line of Communication. And for the better executing of the severall Ordinances of the Militia within those parts and places; which in regard it is this day to come forth in print, I shall make no further mention thereof.

On Wednesday last, March 27. The House of Commons, according to their accustomed manner kept the solemn day of Humiliation in *Margarets* at *Westminster*. There preached before them in the forenoon Mr *Galeaspe*, a learned Divines of the Church of *Scotland*, upon *Ezek.* 43. 11. And in the afternoone Mr. *John Bond* of *Exeter*, upon *Esay* 45 15.

Also an Ordinance was passed by both Houses of Parliament for the enabling Sir *Wil. Brereton* Baronet, one of the Members of the House of Commons to execute the severall Ordinances of Parliament for advance of money within the County of *Chester*, and to take subscriptions for the better supply and maintenance of the forces under his command, for the security of the said places, and for prevention of the accesse of the Irish forces in those parts.

Printed according to Order.

London, Printed for *Thomas Bates*, and *J. W J.* 1644.

AN ORDINANCE OF THE LODRS and COMMONS Assembled in PARLIAMENT,

For the Contribution of the value of one Meale in the weeke, towards the charge of Arming and forming into Regiments the Auxiliarie Forces, now in rayſing within the City of *London* and Lines of Communication.

And for the better execution of the ſeverall Ordinances of the MILITIA within theſe parts and places, according to the Tenor of the ſame Ordinances.

With the Names of the Treaſurers of the ſeverall Diviſions.

Die Martis, 26 Martii, 1644.

Ordered by the Lords aſſembled in Parliament, That this Ordinance be forthwith Printed and publiſhed.

John Brown Cler. Parliamentorum.

LONDON,
Printed for *John Wright* in the Old-Bayley,
March 28. 1644.

AN ORDINANCE OF THE LODRS and COMMONS Assembled in PARLIAMENT,

For the Contribution of the value of one Meale in the Weeke, towards the charge of Arming and forming into Regiments, the Auxiliarie Forces, now in raysing within the City of London and Lines of Communication.

And for the better execution of the severall Ordinances of the MILITIA within these parts and places, according to the Tenor of the same Ordinances.

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March 28. 1644.

An Ordinance of Parliament, for the Contribution of the value of one Meale in the weeke, towards the charge of arming and forming into Regiments the Auxiliary forces now in raysing within the Lines of Communication; And for the better execution of the severall Ordinances of the *Militia* within these parts and places, *according to the tenor of the same Ordinances.*

WHereas the Committee for the *Militia* of *London*, have for the better discharge of the great trust in them reposed (according to severall Ordinances of Parliament inabling them thereunto) authorized severall Sub-committees, to put in execution within the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, Hamlets of the *Tower*, and the Borough of *Southwark* and other the parts adjacent, within the weekly Bills of Mortalitie, the severall Ordinances heretofore made for ordering the *Militia* of those parts and places; the speedy and due effecting whereof, will not onely much ease and relieve the Trained and Auxiliarie Bands of the places aforesaid, now much over-burdened with duty, but will also by Gods blessing upon the same apparently, tend to the better safeguard of those places and preservation of this present Parliament, under God the chiefe Bulwarke and conserver of our Religion, Lawes, and Liberties: And whereas, besides other voluntarie Contributions, a chiefe meane of raysing and forming of the Auxiliarie Regiments already raysed in the places afore-specified, hath been the voluntarie forbearance of one Meale in the weeke, and rendering the value of the same for the purpose aforesaid, which being begun by well-affected persons, is conceived may be of speciall use for raysing more Forces, buying of Armes and Ammunition, and accomplishing

compliſhing the intent of the ſaid Ordinances, if convenient power be added to make that way of Contribution generall, and ſo as the burthen may not reſt alone upon the willing partie.

The Lords and Commons in Parliament Aſſembled, taking the premiſſes into their ſerious conſideration, and being ſenſible of the good ſervice already performed to the State, by the Forces of the Citie and places aforeſaid, and well approving of the continuance of the good endeavours of the ſaid Committee, and of their Sub-committees, whereto they conceive it requiſite to give all fitting aſſiſtance and encouragement, and holding it very juſt and reaſonable, that all perſons according to their abilities ſhould in a reaſonable and proportionable way contribute to the ſupporting of that charge and burden, which is neceſſarily to be undergone for the common ſafetie; doe for the better ſpeeding and perfecting of the ſaid worke, thinke fit to Order and Ordaine; And be it Ordained, Declared, and eſtabliſhed as followeth: That all and every perſon and perſons, and their Families, reſiding or Inhabing within the ſaid Cities of *London* & *Weſtminſter*, the Hamlets of the *Tower*, Borough of *Southwark*, and other the Pariſhes and places within the Lines of Communication and weekly Bills of Mortalitie, ſhall pay and contribute upon each Tueſday weekely, the value of one ordinarie Meale, to ſuch perſon and perſons as ſhall be reſpectively appointed Collector or Collectors thereof, in ſuch ſort as is after mentioned, the ſame to be imployed for the ends and purpoſes before ſpecified, and hereafter mentioned; And for the better Ordering, Rating, and Raiſing the ſaid Monies, It is further Ordered and Ordained, That the Alderman, Aldermans Deputie, and Common-councell-men of and for each Ward within *London*, and the Liberties, calling to their aſſiſtance two or more of the Sub-committee, uſually ſitting at *Sadlers*-Hall in *Bread-ſtreet*, being Freemen of the Citie of *London*, and of the ſame Ward, if there be any ſuch therein, and ſome other able and well-affected perſons of each Ward, and the greater part of them; And the ſaid other Sub-committees, within their ſeverall Limits and Diviſions, or any ſeven or more of them reſpectively, ſhall have full power and authority, to Aſſeſſe or Tax, or nominate Aſſeſſors, to ſet a Rate and Tax upon each perſon and Familie as aforeſaid; To wit, what Rate, Proportion,

portion, or summe of Money, each person do him or her selfe, or for themselves and Families respectively, shall pay and contribute for the value of one Meale in the Weeke, as aforesaid; And shall appoint convenient places and fit persons within each Parish or Precinct respectively, where, and to whom the said Moneyes shall be respectively payd by the persons so assessed, and to nominate and appoint Collectors, or Receivers, to call for, and attend the receipt of the said moneyes so assessed, who are to pay over the same upon each Thursday weekely, at two of the clock in the afternoone, to the respective Treasurers hereafter mentioned, *viz.* The Collectors for the said City of *London*, and the Liberties, to *John Laygham* Alderman, appointed Treasurer by the Common-Councell of the City of *London*, who shall and may upon occasion exchange and alter the same Officer, and appoint such other fit Officer as shall to them seeme meete. The Collectors for the Hamlets of the *Tower* of *London* and the Liberties thereof, to M. *Abraham Corfellis*, one of the Sub-committee there, which usually meets at *Savage*-house at *Tower*-hill, and who is appointed to be their Treasurer; The Collectors for the said City of *Westminster*, and Liberties thereof, and other the Liberties, Parishes, and Places within that Division, to M. *Edward Carter*, one of the Sub-committee for that part, which usually meet and sit at the *Savoy* in the *Strand*, and appointed to be their Treasurer; The Collectors for the *Borough* of *Southwarke*, and other the Liberties and Places within the Division, to M. *Richard Walker*, one of the Sub-committee there, which usually meet at the Vestry-House in *Olaves* Parish, and who is appointed to be their Treasurer; And in default of such persons appointed Treasurers aforesaid, Then to such other Treasurers as shall be severally for such purpose appointed, to wit, by the Common-Councell of *London* for the said City, and Liberties, and by the other Sub-committees, or any seven of them, for their Divisions respectively: which said respective Treasurers are hereby authorized to issue out the said Moneyes so gathered and received, as is hereafter mentioned, (*viz.*) The Treasurer for the City of *London*, and the Liberties thereof, for recruiting of the Auxiliary Regiments already raised, raysing and preparing of more Forces, buying of Armes and Ammunition, and for such other uses, as the

Common-Councell of the said City of *London*, or such persons as they from time to time shall appoint for that purpose, *being approved of by both Houses of Parliament*, Shall thinke fit to direct and appoint; And the Treasurers for the other parts shall issue their Monies respectively for recruiting their Auxiliary Regiments, raysing and preparing of more Forces, and Executing the Ordinances of the *Militia*, within their respective Precincts according to such Warrants and Directions as shall be given by the said Sub-Committees for the uses aforesaid, by Order to be made at their respective usuall places of meeting of the said Sub-Committees respectively, of whom seven at least are then and there to be present, and subscribe the same Order. And if any person or persons Assessed, or to be Assessed for the Weekely payment aforesaid, shall after demand thereof made of the person so Assessed, or at his or their usuall places of Habitation or Abode, faile in payment thereof; That then it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Collectors, and every of them respectively calling to their Assistance any of the Trained Bands, Volunteirs, Constables, or others, who are hereby enjoyned to assist upon all Occasions, being required, to Levie double the summe or summes so assessed, together with the necessarie Charges which shall be expended in the Collecting thereof, by way of Distresse, upon his or their goods and Chattels, and shall and may sell the same Distresse or Distresses for the Services aforesaid, and the over-plus to be returned to the Owner of the Distresse taken. And if no sufficient Distresses can be found within the said Citie of *London*, or the Liberties, whereby the Moneyes assessed upon the persons there may be levied; Then upon Certificate thereof made by the said Sub-Committees for the Citie and Liberties, or any seven of them, being Free-men of the said Citie of *London*, to the Lord Mayor of the said Citie, hee is forthwith to grant his Warrant for the apprehension of the said person and persons, and for his and their Commitment to safe Custodie, without Bayle or Mainprize, whersoever hee or they are or shall be found, within Liberties or without, unlesse hee shall see just cause to the contrary. And in like case, if no sufficient Distresses can be found within the other respective Divisions before-mentioned, whereupon the summes assessed upon the persons there

may

may be levied; Then upon Certificate to be made in that behalfe to the respective Sub-Committees of those Divisions, the said Committee, or any seven of them, by Order to be made at their usuall place of Meeting, shall and may commit such person or persons to safe Custodie, without Bayle or Mainprize, wheresoever hee or they shall be found, whether within the said respective Divisions or without; the said persons so to be committed, as aforesaid, to continue in Prison untill they have fully satisfied their respective Assessements.

And be it further Ordered and Ordained, That the over or under-rating of any person or persons, or their Families, within the said City of *London*, or any part thereof, shall and may upon complaint thereof be examined and rectified by the Common-Councell of the said City, or any Committee by them for that purpose to be appointed, or the greater part of such Committee; And if any person or Persons, within any the said other Divisions, be over-rated in the said Assessements, or under-rated, the same shall upon complaint thereof be rectified by the said Sub-Committees of that Division respectively, or any seven of them, according to their discretions; And if any Assessors, Collectors, or Constables, within the said City of *London*, or the Liberties, shall refuse the said service, or prove negligent or faulty therein, upon Certificate thereof made by the said Sub-Committee of *Salters*-Hall, or any seven of them, being Freemen of the said City of *London*, to the Lord Major of the said City, he is forthwith to grant his Warrant for Commitment of such persons to prison, unlesse he shall see just cause to the contrary. And like power upon like occasion the said other Sub-Committees may exercise within their Limits respectively, or upon such neglect or default as aforesaid, the Common-Councell, of whom they shall appoint for *London* and the Liberties, and the Sub-Committees or any seven of them within their severall Divisions, may impose a fine upon the offenders, not exceeding the summe of Ten Pounds for every offence, the said Fine so to be levied by Distresse, and sale of the offenders goods, and the Moneyes to be imployed for the service aforesaid; And it is Ordained, That the said Treasurers respectively shall each of them keepe a Register-Booke of the summes received, and paid out by them, that so they may give a just and per-

perfect Account thereof, unto the said Sub-Committees, to whom they respectively belong, when they shall be by them required which shall be once Monthly at least; And the said Treasurer for *London*, and the Liberties shall also concerning the Premisses, be accomptable to the Common-Councell for the said City, or such Committee as they shall thereto appoint, when he shall at any time be thereunto required; And for the better encouragement of the said Collectors and Treasurers: It is Ordained, that five pence in the Pound shall be allowed for every summe of mony, which shall be Collected and paid to the said Treasurers according to this Ordinance, whereof foure pence shall be to the Collectors, and one penny to the Treasurer.

And be it lastly, by the said Lords and Commons further Ordained, That all and every the respective Committees, Assessors, Treasurers, and Collectors of the respective Divisions aforesaid and all that shall assist them in the premisses, shall be by power of Parliament protected and saved harmelesse, both for what, according to the true meaning of the premisses, they have done and shall do therein for time to come.

Provided, That this Ordinance extend not to such persons as receive Almes; nor shall be of longer continuance then for the space of six Moneths, to begin from Tuesday next after the date hereof.

Provided also, That this Ordinance shall not extend to the giving of any compulsarie power over any the Members of either House of Parliament, or any Peer, or any Assistant of the House of Peers, or any Attendant on either House of Parliament, or any Member of the Assembly of Divines; or to give power to settle any other Rates upon any of them touching the premisses, then what they respectively will tax themselves at, or agree unto: Any thing in this present Ordinance contained to the contrarie notwithstanding.

FINIS.

Number 9. 16

The Spie,

Communicating Intelligence from Oxford.

From *Tuesday* the 19. of *March*, to *Thursday* the 28. 1644

THe usuall straine from *Oxford* is still kept; and the insolent paper speaks as much treason as ever: But as the providence of the Parliament moves in honourable designes, so his invention varies: Wee were wont to have the great and small shot of slander levelled against the *League and Covenant*, and the *Assembly of Divines*, in a plentifull manner: But now the heat of fury against them is quite past, and the residue of his fraile bullets are discharged with might and main against the *Councell of State*, the only eye-sore, and the greatest *Remorra* to their proceedings. I am sorry his Majesty should be so much dishonoured, as to have such language vented under his nose, against his highest Court, which none durst utter but an impudent Trayterous and licentious *Aulicus*; a contemptible silly Pamphleter, backed by those whose consciences are far more desperate then his invention.

The first line is enough alwayes without a Title page, to inform from whence this dunghill-rag hath its originall. The blew Author, the Calf is easily known at first sight by the Bull which comes along with him, the *Nonsence* slander of *Rebells at Westminster*. This is his first usuall compliment.

Now to proceed, he tells us, *that they do shuffle and contradict their own votes*. He neither tels us *When*, nor *how*, which if he could have done, Reader, I know the disposition of the *Brute* so far, that hee would not let slip any passage which might yeeld advantage in a

ſtory: Nay, if he had but one half of truth, the leaſt remnant of probability upon never ſo weak a ground, he would make an ample *demonſtration* upon it, and even conjure you into a beliefe with jolly and high phraſes. But whatſoever is done here, it is well knowne what *ſhuffling* and *contradiction* is there among ſo many notable Gameſters, which have every one a particular plot in the main game, whileſt the Kingdome and Religion lie at ſtake.

He tels us, *that ſome Ordinances are borne, and ſtifl'd the ſame day, according as our Armies and Counſels proſper.* Theſe are two fine expreſſions, *Aulicus*, *ſhuffling* of Votes, and *ſtifling* of Ordinances. I might ask thee again, *how*, and *when?* But it is no matter for that; it is ſufficient to thoſe ſlaves of his religion, to be ſatisfied with his bare word, which he knowes well enough, and therefore cares not what he writes ſo it be as they expect it; but hee hath an excellent faculty too in *ſtifling* what he thinks they will not reliſh: They are all very able in *ſtifling*, eſpecially in *ſtifling* of Treaties and Offers of peace, for they never make any, but they preſently *ſtifle* and *choake* the proceedings of it with ſome unreaſonable paſſage or other, and then they would take advantage in the breaking them off, in telling the people, that the fault is on our ſide. And this neat project was very cloſely contrived in a late Vote, one of thoſe deſperate five againſt the Parliament; wherein it was *reſolved* by their *Junto*, &c. That all the *endeavours, and offers of Peace and Treaty, lately made by his Majeſty* (which is, that all the treacherous pretences of Peace and Treaty, in the expectation whereof they have ſo often deluded the kingdom, and were begun for no other end but to be broken off whether his Majeſty gave conſent or not,) *by the advice of the Lords and Commons of Parliament aſſembled at* Oxford, (that is, by the craft and ſubtilty of thoſe who were once members of a true Parliament, but by deſerting it, are juſtly to be accounted vile Apoſtates, Traytors and Renegado's, combined with the known enemies of their country) *have been refuſed, and rejected by the Lords and Commons remaining at Weſtminſter.* (That is, could by no means be entertained and proceeded in ſafety to the State, by thoſe who are the only means with, and meaners of a ſure and laſting peace, *The renowned Parliament of* England *aſſembled in Weſtminſter.*) Thus I hope the people cannot but conceive that the maine intent of this Vote is to ſtifle their underſtandings from the manner of their ignoble Treaties. But that you may take notice that they are no common ſtifflers, remember *Hopton* Caſtle neer *Shrewsbury*, where they expreſſed ſo much cruelty as to ſtifle 30. of our men, by burying them alive.

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He tels us, *that in the late fight at* Drayton, *in* Staffordſhire, *our field-word was changed three ſeverall times: The firſt was* Fairfax: A (name whoſe every Syllable ſhould be as precious to us, as it is terrible to them.) *The ſecond was* The Lord of Hoſts: (One whom they are very little acquainted with, or have no knowledge of.) *The third was*, Gods Will be done. (A ſaying which they cannot abide, nor ever yet made uſe of, either in doing his Will, or ſubmitting to it: And above all things they feare, that if Gods Will be done upon them, they will in time be deſtroyed.)

He tels us, *that Sir* Thomas Fairfax *his Motto is* FOR REFORMATION, and he would have us *fetch the Engliſh of this Motto from* Scotland. We need not fetch it, *Auſicus*, for the *Scots* bring it, and make Reformation as much *Engliſh*, as it is *Scottiſh* or *Dutch*.

He tels us, *that our brethren of* Scotland *have upon all their Colours*, FOR COVENANT, RELIGION, AND CROWN OF BOTH KINGDOMES. They put all theſe upon their Colours, *Auſicus*, to maintain them here, for feare they ſhould be carried hence to *Spaine*, or *Rome*, by ſome of your prime Merchants, or leſt *Spain* ſhould come thither, and ſave them the labour.

He tels us, *that the fundaments all of our Covenant are changed ſince it came to Weſtminſter*: that is the place where our fundamentals are preſerved, and *Oxford* the place which endeavours to have them changed. Thou hateſt the *Covenant*, becauſe the fundamentalls of it are to maintain thoſe of the Kingdome; both which muſt now ſtand, or change together.

He ſayes, *that our Religion is ſo refined a thing, that we can bleſſe and ſlander, love and rebell, make a Pacification and an Invaſion by the ſame rules.* This is not ſo true as that of your fighting for the Liberty of the Subject is to uphold Tyrannie, or for the priviledges of Parliament is to overthrow them in the ruine of this, or for the Proteſtant Religion is to bring in, and ſet up Popery.

He tels us, *that the Covenanters at* Weſtminſter *are brim-full of ſelf-conviction, every day renounting what they did before.* This is a *Lie* ſent from *Oxford* for a token to thoſe which will entertain it: Now if it ſhould ſo fall out, (which God bethanked, is very unlikely, we being in our right ſences) that there ſhould be ſelf-conviction and renouncing here, the firſt malignant that could carry the *newes*, ſhould have at leaſt an Earledome, and publike Maſſe be in all Churches, and Proceſſion in all the ſtreets of *Oxford* the day after.

He tells us that our Priviledges are more violated by us, than any

thing under Heaven, except our Allegiance. Thou and thine thinke it the greateſt teſtimony of your pretended, falſe, and ground-leſſe Allegiance, to ſlander and belye us any way, and to violate all the Lawes of humanity, reaſon, and honeſtly, to our prejudice and defaming: we are bound by the oath of Allegiance which we have taken to bring your *Oxford* delinquents and conſpirators, to their Legall triall, and deſerved puniſhment, and to redeeme the King and Kingdome from them.

He tells us *of a great famine of Law and Iuſtice*, and that *the Parliament have beene greedy devourers of his Majeſties prerogatives, and every mans propriety*. This Famin (God be thanked) is not univerſall, nor any where but in their Garriſons, and eſpecially in *Oxford*: yet the famine he ſpeakes of, was comming on very fairely here in former time, ſo that our Liberties and Priviledges began to ſtarve, and growing every day leaner and leaner, had like *Pharaohs* leane kine, beene almoſt devoured by his Majeſties Prerogatives, which then began to be of a very full and plump conſtitution, and a little too cumberſome in the Royall Throne: And now becauſe our wiſe Phyſitians of State go about to bring the body Politick to a more moderate habite and conſiſtence, they grumble, and murmure, ſome out of malice, and many out of ignorance, at theſe skilfull and faithfull proceedings.

He tells us that the late letters ſent by the Parliament to his Majeſtie, *begat five ſuch Votes from Oxford, that they will not be forgotten by any that now live*. They will never be forgotten, I warrant you; they will be Chronicled as well as the Authors, who have now arrived to the higheſt of Trayterous preſumption, but their ſtomacks will be brought down ſhortly.

He tells us *that Sir* Richard Greenvile *ſcorned to forfeit his loyalty and honour, which poſterity will pay that family*. You are miſtaken *Aulicus*, it is but *Richard Greenvile*, or *Dicke Greenvile*, take whether you pleaſe, for he hath beene degraded already upon the Gallowes; and there was nothing wanting, but his preſence and a Pſalm to make the ſolemnity compleat. He ran away with pay enough for him and his family, without the helpe of poſterity, who I hope, will reade of his laſt payment in one of *Martin Parkers* Chronicles of a Sheete, called a *Ballad*.

He tels us *that we vexed our ſelves to finde out Language foule enough for him, putting up Tickets to tell the world he is gone to his Majeſty*. *Aulicus* is ſomewhat tender of his Credit, and therefore forbeares to tell unto the world in down-right termes, that he was

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proclaimed under the Gallowes for a *Rogue*, and such an one, that no language can be sufficient to expresse him. And that those tickets were nailed to a gibbet to tell the world that he deserved to hang there himselfe.

But he tels us, *that we conceale the ground of his departure, and that* Sir *Richard hath sent a letter hither to signifie the reasons of his running away so basely, which letter*, he sayes, *is stifled, and therefore he here gives us an exact copie, transcribed from that which* Sir Richard *wrote with his owne hand.* There is a letter indeed set down at large by *Aulicus*, which I beleeve was minted by the same braines with that fictious one, from the *Junto* of Lords to the *Privie Councell of Scotland*, or that which was put upon *Glemham* at the first comming in of the *Scots*; but because *Aulicus* will have it to be *Dick Greenviles* own, I shall onely give you some briefe observations upon it. First he tells us *of his imployment in his Majesties Army in Ireland, and his faithfull carriage in it against the Rebels there.* Well done *Dicke* to commend thy selfe; but her Majesty will conne you no thankes for fighting against them; for they were her Souldiers, though you were the Kings; and yet there could be no great difference betweene both, seeing you could so easily agree upon such a comfortable cessation to the Protestants, and now joyne with them against the Protestant Religion here.

Further, he tells us that *he can looke backe upon those Actions with some comfort.* But with what comfort can you looke backe upon *London*?

That *the occasion of his comming over is well known.* What? to cheate the State? that was made knowne sufficiently upon severall gibbets.

That *it was with many sad thoughts of the distractions and miseries of his native Country.* And after he was once here, all his thoughts were to encrease them.

That *his Allegiance to his Soveraigne was a checke to him to lift up his hand against him.* O Dicke! what a sadden proficient thou art in *Oxford* sense: but this is a very poore allegation, for it was worne thread bare long since. A transcendant villaine should have a transcendant Apologie.

That *the reverence he bare to the name of a Parliament, thwarted any resolution in offering his service to his Majestie, where he knew it was due.* You reverenced the money of the Parliament, and that made you such a Parasiticall frequenter of it, such an humble Irish Idolater; but you might have payed some dues here, and not give occasion

occasion to *Tapsters* and *Horse-Coursers* to curse thee, and say, *thou wilt be hanged in the end.*

That *he contented himself to intend his own particular.* It is apparent: but you had best take heed you be not met with by Sir *William* your, Sergeant-Major-Generall.

That London is the the place from vvhence the Source and Spring of all our miseries followes. You carried somewhat thence, besides misery and a miserable conscience.

That, *to speake plain english, he found Religion here to bee a cloake for rebellion.* It is well you can speak *plain English*, for it is more than two parts of your Army can doe, to speak any at all: And I beleeve, more Rebellion is now to bee found under a Gowne than a Cloake, though lesse religion.

That *he found there was so little left of the Protestant religion, as there was few of the learned and Reverend Divines that were wont to preach it.* That is, but little left here of *Ireland* and *Oxford* Protestant Religion.

That the *Subiects were here forced to submit to many unlawfull oathes (though it pleased God, he escaped them all).* Now I am of opinion that *Richard* never wrote this Letter; If he did, I must tell him he lies like a perjured wretch.

That the *whole government here is but a necessitie of Oathes.* A man of your conscience then, which can break through all Oathes, may live here like a Prince, and be subject to no necessity.

That *it was very visible to him that the great priviledge of this Parliament, was to be none of the forme.* This was not visible to you as long as the money was invisible:

That he *hath now layed himself at his Maiesties feet, from whence no fortune, terrour, or cruelty, shall make him swerve.* Yes, we expect you should swerve a little, and lay your self at the Popes feet also.

That *he wrote this in satisfaction to us and the world.* There can be no satisfaction to to the world but your necke. And all this is subscribed with, *what he expects we should terme him*

Your Malignant servant:

RICHARD GREENVILE.

you will be deceived if you expect, for we are furnished with more fitting termes from the gibbet.

But what sayes *Aulicus* to this letter? He sayes, *it is sufficient to satisfie all honest men*: That is to say, *Sectaries, Papists*, and *Malignants*.

He tells us, that Sir *William Waller* is put to chuse a new Lieute-

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nant Generall, and to haſten his worke in Hampſhire, *that the Weſt may not ſtay for him.* I beleeve the Weſt will ſtay for him, becauſe we can heare no more bragges of your *Corniſh Aſſociation*, which comes but as ſlowly forward, as *Hoptons* ſucceſſe in *Hampſhire.*

He tells us that there were taken ſix Renegadoes; who were formerly of the Lord *Hoptons* army, and therefore were now hanged at the importunity of the Souldiers of the Regiment whereof they were formerly. It ſeemes your ſouldiers would not be ſatiſfied till theſe had the ſame reward which is due to *Dick Greenvile:* Shew him the ſtory to read his fortune by.

He tels us that Sir Iohn Smith *beat up our mens quarters at* Bramdeane, Peterfield *and* Alton. For ſhame mention not theſe places any more, whence you have been banged often before now.

He calls Sir William Balfour *a faithfull Servant to his Maieſty, and that he vvas fain to retreate.* You cannot endure that any faithfull Servant to his Majeſty ſhould come neer him, and therefore you endeavour to drive them all away, and keep them as far from him as you can, and ſtill go on to enlarge the diſtance.

Next of all have at the *Scots.* He tells us *that they came over* Tyne *that darke tempeſtuous Saturday night, March* 2. *at ten or tvvelue ſeverall Fords.* Since that night there hath beene a great tempeſt in your *Iunto* and Armies, about ten or twelve ſeverall times.

That New-caſtles *horſe cut off part of their rere, and took, great ſtore of their baggage, vvhich vvas carried all on horſeback becauſe they had no Cart nor Wagon.* I will let this lye paſſe among the reſt of the baggage ſtuffe in *Aulicus*, but I muſt needs cut off the reare of it with the *Scots* Ordnance in Carts, & their Muskets in Wagons.

That on Wedneſday, March 6. the *Marqueſſe drew forth his vvhole Army, and marched after them to* Cheſter *towne, and ſo over at* New-bridge, *and quartered at* Lamron *that night, ſtill cloſe purſuing them.* That is for certain, He made as much haſte as hee could with a peece of an Army, (for a whole one he hath not) and ran away from towne to towne, as ſwiftly as a Horſe, terrour, and an ill conſcience, could drive him towards *Yorke.*

That the *Scots faced the Marqueſſe.* It is more then ever they could do yet, becauſe he alwaies turnes his back.

That *the Scots retreated from one hill to another, til they were driven quite over a little brook into Suderland, cloſe to the Sea ſide, where they are girded into a very ſmall compaſſe.* The ſtory is very little within compaſſe: For the *Scots* will ſhortly bring *Yorke* into a better compaſſe.

That

That the *Marqueſſe uſed all poſſible meanes to make the Scots fight, but could not invite them to it.* They do meane to accept of his invitation at *Yorke*, where they will give themſelves enterteinment, and him many a cold breakfaſt.

That *he drevv into quarters round about them, to keep them in a ſtraight, knowing them to be in extreame vvant of proviſion.* But now they were cloſe by the Sea ſide, and yet he ſayes they drew into quarters round about them. It muſt needs be fine quartering in the Sea.

That *as the Marqueſſe drew off from the hill, the Scots with 300. horſe vvould needs make a flouriſh in his reare.* Then this hill and the Reare, were out of their Sea-quarters, becauſe they made a ſhift to run upon drie Land.

That *The Scots vvere ſo vvelcommed that they vvere charged through and through by Sir* Charles Lucas *his horſe, who killed 74 of them in the place, and took 69. priſoners.* All Dogfiſh, Sea-monſters, and *Mare-men* and *Mare-maides*; for Sir *Charles* was quartered in the Sea too, or no where.

That *moſt of the priſoners had money quilted in their doublets.* Then they were Dogfiſh in doublets, and you miſtooke their Scales for money.

You may gueſſe what *Aulicus* his reports are concerning the *Scots*, by my comment this week, as wel as the former, which I think, are ſufficiently even with him for his frolike invention.

The Intelligence.

THe *Iunto* at *Oxford* have of late been in very great diſtreſſe for money, and therefore, as our *Spie* is informed, there have been many comfortable debates, though little hopes concerning the raiſing of any. Me thinks it were a ſmall matter for them to make an *Ordinance* for plundring the countries, but that they know there needs no *Ordinance* for that, having ſuch ready executioners without licenſe at a pinch of need. Theſe creatures held a great deal of diſcourſe, concerning raiſing of money by *Excize* at *Briſtol*, and other parts where they have power: But *Briſtol* was ſo ranſacke by them at their firſt coming in, that there is now but little ſigne of the former glory and riches of the place, which might yeeld any competent *In-come* by *Excize*: and if not there, what can we expect from any other places of leſſe account, in their poſſeſſion, which have been ſufficiently pealed, according to the propotion of their abilities.

And becauſe they would not have us to think that they ſit there like empty ciphers (as indeed they are) to do nothing; to ſeem ſomewhat, they have of late taken upon them to be very impudent and audacious, and as bold and courageous in their deſperate carriage, as if the Pope had let looſe ſome grand *Bull*, or other, of *plenary indulgence*, and ſent it as a token of his free bounty to *Oxford*, in recompence of their labour for the furthering of the *Catholique Cauſe*: And ſo have taken upon them to make five votes, eminent things for treaſon and *State-nonſence*, and ſuch (*Aulicus* ſayes) as will never be forgotten; which votes, becauſe they have ſo often mention already, I ſhall paſſe over.

Printed according to Order for I. F.

Good News from the West.
The Earle of Manchesters advance.
What succours joyned to meet Prince Rupert.

A Number 17.

CONTINVATION

Of certain Speciall and Remarkable passages informed to the PARLIAMENT, and otherwise from divers parts of this Kingdome, from Thursday the 21. of *March* till Thursday the 28. of *March*. 1644.

Containing these Particulars, viz.

1. A more punctuall and full relation of the raising of the siege at *Newarke* with the Ordnance, Ammunition, and men that were lost there.
2. Of a Letter sent from the Queene to Prince *Rupert* concerning the designe for raising the siege, and by what meanes Prince *Rupert* got the better, with the Articles which were agreed upon for our forces marching away, and how they were violated by the Cavaliers.
3. Certaine passages of note concerning Sir *William Waller* and Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and Sir *Ralphs* drawing out of *Winchester*, and how neere they are ingaged.
4. A Message sent from the Parliament to Sir *William Waller*, and the effect thereof.
5. The taking of the Lady *Lake*, and some others that came from *Oxford*, and claymes the benefit of the Declaration.
6. A relation touching the setting forward the Lord Generalls Army that they may be ready to advance into the field.
7. Concerning the perfecting of the Propositions for Peace that are to be sent to His Majesty.
8. Certaine News from *Boston* of Colonell *Kings* comming thither, and the Earle of *Manchesters* advancing towards *Lincolneshire*.
9. The further tryall of the Arch-Bishop, and some other proceedings in the House.
10. A relation of the state of *Plymouth*, and of their sallying forth and taking 50 Horse.
11. Touching the Scotts Army which are yet before *Newcastle*, and in the Bishoppriek.
12. Concerning some false reports of the taking of *Leicester* by Prince *Rupert*, with a relation of his staying at *Newarke* after the siege raised, and where his forces are quartered.

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A CONTINVATION OF Certaine Speciall and Remarkable passages informed to the Parliament, and otherwise from divers parts of this Kingdome.

From Thursday the 21. of *March*. till Thursday the 28. of *March*. 1644.

THe passages which present themselves to the publique view that have hapned within this Inch of time of which I am limited at this time to treate, concernes matters of no lesse consequence then the successe of the severall Armies now a foote in this Kingdome, the proceedings of the Parliament, and other weighty occurrences: and that I may not digresse from my usuall method in each perticuler, I must crave leave to put the Reader in minde that the last weeke I made mention of Prince *Ruperts* advance to *Ashby* in the County of *Leicester* with about 4000 Horse and foote, and that his designe was to releive *Newarke*, but I could not then bee perswaded that hee could have Marched so farreas to joyne himselfe with Sir *Charles Lucas*, and thereby to make his Army so numerous as to consist of at least seven thousand, yet admitt that this could have beene imagined before, who could have thought that the besiegers might not have caused his highnesse to have lyne some short time in the field, especially knowing that the Earle of *Manchester* was but at *Cambridge*, and ready to advance forwards for their reserve.

But we are informed the Queene had a speciall care in seeking

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to cutt off the besiegers by the cruell and barbarous hands of English Papists, Welch Athists, and Irish Rebells by her writing to Prince *Rupert* when hee was in the Borders of *Wales*, charging him that upon his honour and allegance hee should have a care of that busineſſe, seeing she doubted not but now hee had gotten an Army of persons fit to effect that designe, and it is much to be feared that the plot went further, even to the making of a division and discention among many of the Commanders of the Besiegers themselves at the tyme when they were to fight, although that valiant Gentleman Sir *John Meldrum* earnestly besought them that none would be so ambitious as to seeke to get the honour to himselfe, but that they would all hold together for the faithfull performance of that service which they had undertaken for their King and Countries good, their owne defence and preservation.

When Prince *Rupert* came neere unto *Newarke* the besiegers drew out their forces and faced the Enemy, and after some short skimishing betwixt the Scouts that were sent out on both sides, which onely meet and fired on each other and so retreated, our whole body of horse drew up, and being devided into three divisions the least (being Colonell *Cotchesters* Regement) charged very gallantly, and routed the the right winge of the Enemy, in which service Captaine *Lilborne*, Captaine *Bothell*, and Captaine *Hunt* deserves to be remembred, and had the rest of our horse performed the like service, in all probability the Runnagado *Harrey* and Prince *Rupert* himselfe (if in the fight, would have fallen into a dead palsey as well as Master *Hastings* with his title of a Lord, which but little before he fetcht from *Oxford*.

This being done Colonell *Rotchester* with about five hundred Horse made an orderly retreate, and some of our horse being fled away our forces were all drawne over the bridge into the Isle, which was maintained by a Regement of Foote, and after the Enemy was repulsed there, they passed their foote over on the other side of the Island, which together with some other weighty reasons moved Sir *John Meldrum* to sound a parley, which being granted, conditions were agreed upon and signed by Prince *Rupert* to this effect, viz.

1. That

1. That none of the Artillery and Ammunition (except ſwords Pikes and Colours) ſhould be carried away.

2. That our Foote Souldiers ſhould march away with their ſwords and Pikes and flying Colours, and the Horſemen with their horſe, ſwords and Cornetts Colours.

3. That all Officers ſhould March away with their horſe and Piſtolles with Bagge and Baggage.

4. That we ſhould have a ſafe convoy for all our men two miles beyond the Princes Quarters.

This being done and our men marching away, not one of theſe Articles were kept, but all of our men both Officers and others were pillaged and ſtript, and ſome of them moſt barbarouſly killed uſing them (if it were poſſible) with more cruelty then when the like conditions were agreed to and ſigned by the ſame truce breakers at *Briſtoll*.

The loſſe which we have for the preſent ſuſtained by the raiſing of this ſeige as we are informed by thoſe that come from *Boſton* in *Lincolneſhire*, is not ſo great as the Malignants report.

Let not the lending of the Enemy a few Armes diſcourage any, for I have not read of any Warre wherein the one ſide or the other were ever ſo prevalent, that both did not ſometimes meete with ſome loſſe, for it is a thing incident to warre, nor let *Aulicus* be too buſie, thinking that having ſuch a Subject now to worke upon his lyes, and forgeries, will take the deeper impreſſion for halfe a yeare after, for not to ſpeake of what the Enemy hath loſt by ſieges, it being ſet forth already, I remember for a hundred Armes which Sir *Ralph Hopton* tooke at *Arundell Caſtle* from Captaine *Caſtett* within three weekes after, Sir *William Waller* tooke at leaſt 1200. Armes, and 300. horſe, with ſtore of treaſure, and above a thouſand Priſoners, beſides twentie peeces of Ordnance that weere in a ſhipp, and not long before Sir *William* tooke above 1000. Armes more at *Alton* with as many men and ſtore of horſe, we are likewiſe advertized of a certaine knowledge, that Sir *William Waller* hath drawne out his forces and ioyned with Sir *William Belſore*, and that they are neere to Sir *Ralph Hopton*, in ſo much that they have often

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beate upon his quarters; and we heare that they have routed and taken a Regiment of Sir *Ralphs* Horse.

It is further informed that Sir *William* was in person on Munday last at *Peters-feild*, and Sir *Ralph* hath drawne his forces out of *Winchester*, and is intrenching himselfe upon *Hunsted Downes* foure miles from *Winchester*, we should expect to heare of some further great Action there very speedily (notwithstanding the ayde that is lately gone to Sir *Ralph* from *Oxford*) but that on Munday last, a dispatch was sent from the Parliament, to desire him (for the present) not any further to ingage his Army for reasons best knowne to themselves, yet doubtlesse his horse will be in continuall motion, which will somewhat straighten the *Hoptonians*.

The Lady *Lake* and three or foure other persons of quallity came this weeke from *Oxford*, and desire the benefit of the Declaration, but for the present, they were committed to the custody of the Serieant of Armes untill their further examination, there being a Committee appointed for that purpose as likewise to consider of the restoring of Lands or goods of such persons as shall come in that are under sequestration.

There hath beene some debate concerning the speedy setting forward of the Lord Generalls Army, that forthwith they may be ready, to march into the feild, and all the Armies move together, and give an effectuall Alarume to *Oxford*, which doubtlesse will be a good meanes to make them the more inclinable to peace if they refuse such reasonable Propositions which are preparing to be sent to his Majesty, but as yet not fully perfected, and therefore I reserve the perticulers thereof untill a fitter season.

This present Tuesday came a Post from *Boston* in *Lincolnshire* who certifies that he heard the raising of the siege at *Newarke*, was in maner as before is related, but could give no account whether Prince *Rupert* continued at *Newarke*, or was marched any other way.

The Earle of *Manchester* he said advanced with his Army from *Cambridge* on Sunday last, and is marching towards *Lincolnshire*, hee meeting some of his Scouts on the way as he came, and hee further certified that before his comming from *Boston*, Colonell *King* was come thither.

This

This day a motion was made in the House of Commons, touching some parte of the Lord *Capells* estate, which is concealed, which busineſſe was referred untill Thurſday next for a hearing therein.

I gave you an account the laſt week concerning the Archbiſhop his tryall who came once more this weeke to the Houſe of Peers, and the Committee of the Houſe of Commons have made good their charge againſt him to the ninth Article (there being twentie foure in all) but the ſmall pittance of paper to which I muſt confine my ſelfe and other matters that I have to write will not at this time ſuffer mee to enter into any perticulers herein, and therefore I conclude this paſſage with his order to attend againe at the Barre of the Houſe of Peeres on Thurſday next.

Sundry reports have this weeke beene ſpread abroad, that Sir *Richard Greeneville* (who contrary to his promiſe and ingagement and honour of a Souldier, falſely, baſely and unworthily deſerted the Parliaments ſervice, and felloniouſly carried away the money paid unto him in regard of his ſaid ſervice, for which he was lately proclaimed Villaine and Traytor) was gone to *Plymouth* with ſome forces and was let into the Towne under pretence of being ſtill in the Parliaments ſervice and ſo betrayed it, but the ſaid reports are meerely fabulous and obnoxious to the truth, for wee have aſſurance that *Plymouth* is in a good poſture of defence for the King and Parliament, and that part of the Gariſon there iſſued lately out of the towne and fell upon a Court of Guard of the Enemies and forced them into a houſe for Sanctuary, where ſtanding upon their guard being within the Enemies owne Quarters, it was thought more ſafe to retreate as victors then by their ſtay to hazard the being ſett upon with freſh forces, whereupon our men tooke about 50. of their horſe and Saddles which were brought ſafe to *Plymouth* to be implyed for the King and Parliament.

I know you cannot but expect to heare ſomewhat this weeke concerning the proceedings of the *Scotts* Army, but in regard there hath come no Poſt from thence as yet ſince my laſt weekes Intelligence, I ſhall rather referr you to the next weeke then write any thing upon uncertaine reports.

Wedneſ-

Wednesday the intelligence of the Earle of *Manchester* advance towards *Newarke* to meete with prince *Ruperts*, and prevent his returne backe againe towards *Oxford* was confirmed, and it is further certified that by this time he is with his Army within thirtie miles of *Newarke* which is threescore miles from *Cambridge*, and that Co'o ell *Cromwell* is at Saint *Needs*, and the Earle of *Denbigh* at *Nottingham*, but twelve miles from *Newarke*, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* we are informed is also drawing that way, and they all intend to joyne together upon this designe, and to get between *Oxford* and Prince *Ruperts*, which if they do in all probability, our late losse may prove no small gaine

The conveying of the Ammunition to *Gloucester* which for some time remained at *Warwicke*, waiting a fit opportunity for the passage hath often beene mentioned to be going to the place appointed, and therefore it is necessary for your better satisfaction that some thing should be said thereof at this time, of which I can only give you this account, that I have seene a letter that came out of *Gloucestershire* which did affirme that it was safely arrived at *Gloucester*, and for my owne perticuler I give credit to the truth of it, yet I must needs confesse that the Parliament had not yesterday received any letters concerning the same.

The Malignats about the Towne since Prince *Ruperts* raising the siege at *Newarke*, have suggested that he hath taken the Towne of *Leicester* which is utterly false, for we are this day likewise certified that the said Towne is in a good condition and posture of defence for the King and Parliament, and Prince *Ruperts* forces are said to be in the Isle of *Crowe* neere *Newarke*, I wish that his prize may cause his stay, there till our forces draw together and then either a Coward must fight, or else flie to *Yorke*.

This day after the Fast was ended, the House of Commons according to their custome mett to appoint Ministers to preach the next Fast day and to adjourne the House.

Some letters of news were also expected to have come to the

the House at their meeting, but there came few, except such as were in confirmation of those matters which are before mentioned, and therefore I shall forbeare to make any further relation of them, but many uncertaine reports were spred abroad as perticulerly of a shiplately driven into *Plymouth*, by one of the Earle of *Warwicks* shipps, of Colonell *Beeres* being sent unto for to march with his Regiment of Horse to joyne with the Earle of *Manchester* and the rest of the associated forces for the designe aforesaid, as likewise, that Colonell *Harvey* with his Regiment of Horse is spedily to March to Sir *William Waller* which perticulers are al very probabl to be true, but because the first is late news from a remote place, and the latter but now in agitation, I shall leave you herein to further Relations.

This is Licenced and entered according to Order.

The weekly Account. Num. 39. Mar. 28.

Truly and faithfully communicating the choiſeſt and moſt Remarkable Intelligence, from all parts of the Kingdome; From *Wedneſday* the 20. of *March*, to *Thurſday* the 28. of the ſame.

Wherein is contained theſe Particulars;

1. *The Victorious ſucceſſe of the Parliaments Forces in* Pembrokeſhire, *and the taking of* Haverford *in the Weſt; and beſides other places, the City* Caermarthen, *the head Town in* Caermarthenſhire.
2. *The obtaining of* Milford-Haven *by the renowned Captain* Swanley.
3. *An exact Relation of the raiſing of the Siedge of* Newark (*contradicting the report made by Major* Bury) *where twelve Troops of Horſe belonging to the Lord* Willoughby *of* Parham, *incountred with the Body of Prince* Ruperts *Cavalry. As alſo, the ill ſervice of our Foot, who upon the appearing of Sir* Charles Lucas *Forces flung down their Arms. Together with the number of the Armes, Ordnance, and Ammunition, unhappily taken there.*
4. *The proſecution of the triall of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and a full relation of the whole Proceedings in his laſt examination.*
5. *The States Letters preſented to the Houſe of Parliament, and their ſincere deſires and indeavours for a happy Peace.*
6. *The Counſell of State to give a ſudden anſwer to the ſaid Letters, as alſo to draw up the grounds of a propoſition of Peace to be forthwith diſpatched to his Majeſtie*
7. *An Ordinance paſſed for the ſuddain Recruit all and a continuall ſupply for his Excellencies Army.*
8. *The Prince of* Tranſylvania *beſieging* Craſhaw *in* Upper Hungary, *and the* Great Turk *with an Army not far off at* Buda, *and his demanding the brave City of* Newſtadt *of the Emperour, which is but* 12. German *miles from* Vienna.
9. *The advance of the Earle of* Manchester *aſſiſted with Collonel* Cromwell *and Sir* Thomas Fairfax, *for the preſervation of the aſſociated Counties.*
10. *The laſt news from the* Scots *in the Biſhoprick of* Durham, *and to doe us good, the thriſty way of their ordinary Diet.*
11. *The Lord* Hoptons *challenge to the Noble Sir* William Waller, *to meet him in Battle, and Sir* William Wallers *advance wi him ſixe miles of him, and the reaſon why without ſome great advantage, it is thought Sir* William Waller *will not joyne in Battell with him.*

LONDON,
Printed by *Bernard Alſop*, according to Order. 1644.

The weekly Account. [illegible]

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THE WEEKELY ACCOMPT

OF

Certain Special and Remarkable PASSAGES From both Houses of PARLIAMENT, and other Parts of the Kingdome.

From Wednesday the 20. of March, to the 28. of the same, 1644.

Wednesday the 20. of March.

THe weather hath held a long time dry, and the earth (which all this winter, like a drunken prodigal seemed to have drowned all but floods, or like an hard miser too fast to have concealed it) begins now to recollect her selfe to a fairer temper, and to receive better comforts from the warmth and bounty of the Sunne. This is the season which is fit for Action, the time in which (as we read) the Kings of the Nations went out to fight, and though war be almost as old as the world, and the first war that ever was, was a civill war, when there was hardly a third in nature to behold or lament the blood-shed, yet we find the world flourished afterwards through many generations in a long and happy peace. It were a sin to despaire of that mercy in the last age of the world, which was declared in the first. Doubtlesse a wished union would suddenly be procured in this Kingdome, if the motives and first contrivers of this unnaturall war were once removed.

The Archbishop of Canterbury of whose examination I gave you a full account in my last intelligence, was brought againe unto his triall before the House of Peers, there came in severall witnesses against him who were all examined upon oath, As first some Gentlemen of Somersetshire, who declared, that by his procurement Doctor *Pierce* Bishop of Bath and Wells, did severely prosecute some Church-wardens and others for not rayling in the Communion Table, and for this offence that they were inforced to repaire to the three Churches of *Bath*, *Broome*, and *Bermington*, and there openly confesse that they had transgressed against the Lawes of God, in that they had not set up the Communion Table Altar wise, whereupon some of them upon (the tender-

nesse and trouble of their consciences, were much afflicted, and almost brought as low as the bottome of Despair, some did run out of their minds, and others that did not run out of their minds, did run out of the Kingdome. After this followed the deposition of *Ralph Grafton* Upholster, and Citizen of London. Wherein it was declared, that he was committed to the Fleet for refusing to take the Oath *Ex Officio*, and fined five and fifty pound, and that from the Fleet he was carried afterwards to the Gatehouse, and from the Gatehouse was transmitted to the Counter, and that he was not suffered to have his cause heard, but from thence again he was removed to the Fleet, where for seven yeares space he continued in great distresse, untill it had pleased God that in the beginning of the Parliament, by a Writ of *Habeas Corpus* from the Court of Exchequer, he gained some releasement, which being brought to the Archbishops knowledge, he again deprived him of the benefit of his inlargement. And the Deponent having procured an Order from the Court of Exchequer to obtain again his freedom, he shewed the said Order to Master *James Ingram*, Warden of the Fleet, who assured him that he could grant him no liberty on that Order untill he had spoken with the Archbishop, and that he had order from the Archbishop not to grant him his inlargement, untill he had knowledge of it: whereupon the said deponent urging the strength and vertue of the said order, the tediousnesse of his long imprisonment, and the great distresse and danger in which his wife was, being at that present at the point of death. The Warden of the Fleet affirmed, that he had rather have his right hand cut off, then to permit him to step over the threshold of the Fleet. On this the said deponent complained to the Barons of the Exchequer, and Baron *Trevor* holding up his hand in the open Court cried out, *O the Bishop, the Bishop, I dare not meddle with it.* After this Mr. *Prynne* witnessed against the Archbishop for excommunicating a Churchwarden in *Ipswich*, for setting up a Text of Scripture on the Church walles, the words were. *It is written, my House shall be called a House of Prayer, but you have made it a den of Theeves.* The sentence of his Excommunication proceeded *pro non delendo*, for not blotting out. But Mr. *Prynne* alleadged, that by reason of this Excommunication, the said Churchwarden was utterly undone. None of his neighbours (according to the strictnesse of his Excommunication) being suffered either to buy, sell, or to have any commerce with him, and was afterwards constrained to come unto Mr. *Prynne* (who was of his Councell) disguised, for fear the Pursivants should set upon him, and carry him to the High Commission Court. After this, the interruption of Mr. *Bagshaw* in his reading in the Middle Temple was alleadged, when he had but onely demonstrated the Statutes he intended to insist upon, yet the next day the said Archbishop procured a prohibition from the Lord Keeper of the great Seale, who certified Master *Bagshaw*, that offence was taken at Court at somethings that fell from him; whereupon he addressed himselfe to the Lord *Heath*,

and

and afterwards to the Archbishop himselfe at *Lambeth*, declaring that he was come to satisfie his Grace, to which the Archbishop made no other answer, but that he should prove what he had said the next Term in the High Commission Court.

There was also a Letter acknowledged by the Bishop to be his owne hand, which was read against him, directed to the Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, wherein he mentioned, that he was commanded by his Majesty to write unto him, that the Feasts of Dedications of Churches (commonly called Wakes) might be observed. To which Master *Maynard* instanced, that howsoever things were carried, he found his Majesties name was still made use of by the Bishop. And some other charges being ready to be proved against him, in regard the time was spent, his further triall was deferred till Thursday *March* the 28.

Thursday.

There were this day some Letters from Ireland intercepted at Uxbridge, and brought unto the Parliament as they were comming from Oxford, they were written by the Catholick Confederates in Ireland, and directed to Prince *De Harcourt* and to Cardinall *Mazzarine* in France, and were by him to be presented to the Queen Regent, wherein they besought her Majestie to remember her promise to raise five thousand men for the Irish Warres, their humble request was, that her Majesty would be pleased to raise for the present, three thousand men and Armes in France, and transport them into Ireland; from whence they shall be convayed into England to assist the King in the prosecution of this unnaturall warre, and that she would be pleased betwixt this and Midsommer, to raise the other two thousand. And for their better incouragement, the Kings Commission is promised, that her Majesty should not againe be petitioned to, for not raising the said five thousand for the Irish Wars. The Messenger with whom these Letters were found, had a passe under the Kings owne hand, and another from *George* Lord *Digby* Secretary of State, to goe into France about the same. There is a Committee on purpose to meet and to consider on these Letters. And what the result will be, we shall suddainly hear.

Coll. *Cromwell* we understand is gone with his forces from Buckingham to Stony-Stratford and Brickhill. We had this day intelligence, that our Forces at Newark were in a good condition, and ready to receive the Enemy approaching towards them. And that the Earl of Manchester would take care to adde a new power to the besiegers. There was an Order agreed upon by the Commons, that all the Rents belonging to the University of Oxford, or to any College in the University, should be made stay of and detained in the hands of the Tenants, untill further Order from them. There was also a Petition presented to the house of Commons from the Merchants of the East India Company, desiring leave to transport 60. thousand pound beyond the Sea, for the better setling and continuing their trade, which petition after some debate was condiscended to.

Friday.

We told you in our last intelligence that the States of Holland had presented their letters to the Parliament, directed to the Speaker of the House of Commons, which letter because it was in French, although the French tongue was very familiar unto the most of them, it was appointed by the Houses that it should be translated into English before it was read before them, the effect of the contents was this. That the States of Holland deeply considering the great distraction of these Kingdomes, and the great expence of blood that already had bin shed, determined some moneths since to send over their Embassadour, yet hoping that these distractions would compose of themselves, they for a while did wave their Embassy, yet perceiving that these divisions did rather increase then any way extenuate, and acknowledging themselves so ingaged to this Kingdome, as they could not be disjoyned from participating with it; they desired to mediate between his Majesty and the Parliament, and had bin already with his Majesty to make a treaty, to which they found him not averse. To advance the issue of this treaty, being all of the same profession in Religion, they will not be wanting in their most sincere and affectionate indeavours according to their instructions. Concerning this letter it was agreed upon by the Commons that it should bee referred to the Counsell of State of both Kingdomes, to consider of it and to consult what answer they may return unto it. And the Councell of State is to make a speedy report to the House of Commons of their conclusions thereupon.

The Councell of State is also to consider of the grounds of the Propositions of Peace to be sent unto his Majesty from both Kingdomes, the Lords did not concurre with the Commons to referre the same to the Councell of State, but to a speciall Committee of both Houses to whom the Scots were to be joyned, the Commons had some debate thereupon but did not agree, however they are resolved to prosecute the same with all propensenesse, and are drawing up certain reasons to certify the Lords wherefore they referre the said Propositions to a Councell of State, and not to a certain Committee.

Saterday.

The Ordinance for the recruting of my Lord Generals Army is passed, and many supernumerary officers are discharged, but with this condition, that his Excellencies Army be alwayes subject to the orders and directions of both Houses of Parliament, and the Councell of both Kingdoms. And the said Councell of State is to take care that his Excellency be alwayes provided with such supplyes as shall be found wanting for the use of his Army. It was also ordered that two hundred of the disparaged officers are to be entertained as Reformadoes for two troops, and to receive pay according to their former quality and office in the Army; this recrute may serve very happily to prevent many inconveniences which otherwise doe threaten to invade us.

If you will give me leave I will now look a little after forreign Armies, and observe what they doe beyond the Seas, where we shall find that the Swedish fortune hath prevailed much in Denmark, Gluckstadt only excepted, which being a town of great strength and importance, and besieged by some of the Swedish forces, the Danes did issue forth, and prevailing in number they prevailed in power, and have beaten the Swedish forces from it. Wee informed you about three weeks since, that the Transylvanian was invading the Empire with a mighty Army, we can now assure you that he is before Crashaw a great city in the upper Hungary, which he intendeth to take in. And that there are with him to assist him a strong power of the horsemen of Croatia, whom wee in English call Crabbats. The great Turk himselfe is not far off, but is now at Buda the head city of Hungary with an Army of a hundred thousand fighting men, he hath sent unto the Emperour to demand the city of Newstadt but twelve German miles (that is some eight and forty English) distant from Vienna, which city of Newstadt is said to be one of the most remarkable places for strength and pleasure in the whole Empire. The crafty Turk hath bin carefull alwayes to observe his own advantages, and hath gained more in Europe by the division of the Christian Princes then by his valour or his numbers. The Germans have a Prophesie that the Turkes will not only master this city of Newstadt but even the Imperiall seat of Vienna it selfe, and will march through the Empire fighting and conquering untill they come to Collen which is a magnificent city on the next side o Germany towards us, at which time they say all the Christian Princes shall come to their assistance, and shall chase the Turk quite out of the Empire, and that then there shall be over the whole face of Christendome, but one Faith, one Flock, one Pastor.

Munday.

We will this day begin with the relation of our losse at Newark which was brought unto the town on the day before. We told you in the precedent page that Prince *Rupert* was expected but not feared by Sir *John Meldrum*, and that the besieged within carried themselves in the siege very stoutly, either expecting releisse or resolving to dye.

On Thursday last intelligence was brought to Sir *John Meldrum* that Prince *Rupert* was advancing towards Newarke to releive it, whereupon twelve troops of the Lord *Willoughbies* horse were commanded forth to incounter them, who meeting with the enemy, behaved themselves very bravely, but being overmastered by numbers they were forced to retreat with some losse, they held play with the enemy (though with extream disadvantage) as long as possibly they could, because they would have their foot drawn forth, and their Ordinance ready to receive the advanced Foe, but the foot (I know not by what disaster either of feare or mutiny) forsook their courage and their cause, and perceiving another body of horse belonging to Sir *Charles Lucas*

to

to appear they left their Armes behind them, and fled for protection to the house of the Countesse of *Exeters* not far from Newark, there were said to be taken some three or foure thousand Arms, great store of Ammunition, and some twelve or thirteen piece of Ordnance, whereof two or three are said to be of great concernment, there were other reports made by Major *Bury* to which little credit is to be given.

Tuesday.

In the morning we understood that the Earle of Manchester is this day resolved to march from Cambridge with a body of three thousand foot, and a thousand horse to preserve Lincolnshire and the associated Counties from the incroaching enemy, and that Colonell *Cromwell* is to joyn with him and bring with him an additionall supply of two thousand five hundred horse, and that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* who is now in the West riding of Yorkshire, will be ready to give good assistance to the associated Counties.

From the Scots since their last expresse, we have received but little intelligence, we understand that they determined to march from Sunderland into the Bishoprick of Durham, they have met already with many difficulties in their andvance, and besides the miseries of winter they have been in some distresse for want of bread, having never above four and twenty houres provision with them, they carry every man their meale with them in hornes which hang by their sides, with which at their next opportunity of fire and water they make themselves something to satisfie nature, a hardy nation, content with homely diet, and who will indure rather any misery then the losse of their Religion.

It is said that the Lord *Hopton* hath challenged Sir *William Waller* to fight with him on a prefixed day. Sir *William* is advanced towards him with a brave Army of ten thousand strong, they are within six miles one of another, you wil hear suddenly from thence of some matter of action, unlesse perchance Sir *William Waller* will not adventure to ingage himself, untill his Excellence be recruted and in the field.

From Pembrokeshire we shall give you such Intelligence, which I doubt not, but will arrive very welcome to you. We acquainted you about some fortnight since, that Captain *Swanley* (who hath deserved wel of the Parliament) had anchored four tall Ships in Milford Haven, which will be of great concernment, to stop all Malignant Ships that shall passe that way from Ireland. Since which time, having mastered that Haven (which is sixteene miles in length) the Parliament hath landed there some Forces, who are said to be at least three thousand strong, and they have surprised *Haverford in the West*, and some other remarkable places. From whence they marched to *Carmarthenshire*, and have taken the City of *Carmarthen*, which was unfortified; The *Welch* still flying before them, and seeking to the Mountaines for their protection.

FINIS.

AN 19

ORDINANCE

OF THE

Lords and Commons

Assembled in

PARLIAMENT,

For the speedy raising of Monies, for Compleating and maintaining the *Army* under the immediate Command of

ROBERT Earle of *ESSEX*,

Lord Generall of the Forces raised by the PARLIAMENT.

Assessed in such manner as is within Expressed.

Ordered by the Commons in Parliament, that this Ordinance be forthwith Printed and Published.

Hen. Elsynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Printed for *Edward Husbands*, March 23. 1644.

Die Martis, Martii 26 1644.

An Ordinance *of the* Lords *and* Commons *in Parliament aſſembled, for the ſpeedy compleating and maintaining of the Army under the immediate command of* Robert *Earl of* Eſſex, *Lord Generall of the Forces raiſed by the Parliament.*

WHereas the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, taking into conſideration the neceſſity of ſpeedy recruiting the Army under the immediate command of the Lord Generall, the Earle of *Eſſex*, have by an Ordinance of the firſt of this inſtant *February*, 1643. Entituled, *An* Ordinance *for the preſent recruiting of the Army under the immediate command of the Earle of* Eſſex *Lord Generall*, Ordained, that the ſaid Army ſhal be forthwith recruited, unto the number of ſeven thouſand five hundred foot, beſides Officers, and 3000. horſe, beſides Officers; and

ſhall conſiſt of ſeven Regiments of foot, and ſix Regiments of horſe, with a ſuitable train of Artillery: and to that end have ordained, that the ſumme of twenty thouſand pounds be forthwith provided out of the Exciſe, or elſewhere, and paid to the Treaſurer of War, for the purpoſes aforeſaid; And do further by the ſaid Ordinance declare, that they intend ſuddenly to ſettle a conſtant pay for the ſaid Army, and that upon the recruiting thereof, care ſhall be taken for the regulating and reforming thereof. In purſuance of which Ordinance, the Lords and Commons now aſſembled in the Parliament, taking the ſame into their ſerious conſideration, have ordained, and be it ordained by the ſaid Lords and Commons, That the ſaid Earle of *Eſſex* ſhall diſpoſe of the ſaid 7500. foot-ſouldiers into ſeven Regiments, whereof one Regiment, which is to be the Lord Generalls Regiment, ſhall conſiſt of 1500 ſouldiers, and ſhall be divided into twelve Companies; and each of the other ſix Regiments ſhall conſiſt of 1000. ſouldiers a peece: and every of the ſix Regiments ſhall be divided into eight Companies, and no more; and the ſaid 3000. horſe ſhall be diſpoſed into ſix Regiments, every of which Regiments ſhall conſiſt of 500. Troopers, beſides Officers, and be divided into ſix Troopes; whereof the Colonels Troope ſhall conſiſt of one hundred Troopers, beſides Officers, and each of the other five Troopes of fourſcore Troopers a peece, beſides Officers: And it is further ordained by the ſaid Lords and Commons, that the ſumme of 30504l. ſhall be raiſed and paid in manner and form as is hereafter mentioned, for the maintenance and payment of the ſaid Army, being recruited, diſpoſed, and regulated aforeſaid, the traine of Artillery, Reformado Officers, Intelligences and other charges incident to the ſaid Army: and for proviſion of Armes and Ammunition for the Kingdome for the ſpace of four Moneths, to commence from the twentieth day of *March*, 1643. accompting 28. dayes to the Moneth; that is to ſay, The ſumme of two thouſand pounds ſhall be Monethly paid out of the Monies that come in at *Habberdaſhers Hall*, upon the twentieth part, or otherwiſe, for the time aforeſaid; and that there ſhall be Monethly charged and levied upon the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, the Hamlets of the *Tower*, the Borough of *Southwarke*, and all other Pariſhes and places within the Lines of Communication and weekely Bills of Mortality, the ſumme of —— —— —— —— —— 6962l —— 04s —— 00

Upon

Upon the County of *Middlesex* without the said limits, the summe of } 1697 l. — 11 s. — 00

And that the summe of 20444 l. — 5 s. — 00 being the Residue of the said summe of 30504 l. shall be Monethly paid out of the Excise for the time aforesaid, whereof 18940 l. — 5 s. — 0 shall be for payment of the said Army, and 1504 l. being the Residue of the said summe, shall be imployed for the provision of the Armes and Ammunition for the Kingdome. And this Ordinance shall be a sufficient Warrant, as well to the Committee at *Haberdashers Hall*, as to the Commissiones of Excise, to pay unto Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Bar. Treasurer at war, the said severall summes of money, and to advance the same by way of loan, and to pay themselves again out of the growing profits thereof: And that the said severall summes of money may be duly raised, levied, and paid, as hereafter is directed, Be it farther ordained by the said Lords and Commons, that the persons hereafter named, shall be Committees for the Cities, Countes, and Places aforesaid; that is to say, For the City of *London*, and the Liberties thereof, the Lord Major and Aldermen onely, and such as they shall nominate: And the Lord Major and Aldermen of *London*, and six such persons of every of the Sub-Committees for the *Militia* within the Lines of Communication, and weekly Bills of Mortality, as the said severall and respective Committees shall nominate and appoint for this service, and the former Committees named in the Ordinance for the last two Moneths Assessement for the City of *Westminster*, Burrough of *Southwark*, Hamlets of the *Tower*, and other places within the Line of Communication and weekly Bills of Mortality, without the City of *London* and Liberties thereof, shall be Committees for the said City of *Westminster*, Burrough of *Southwark*, Hamlets of the *Tower*, and the other places aforesaid, without the City of *London*, and the Liberties therof: And for the County of *MIDDLESEX*, without the limits aforesaid;

Sir *Henry Vane*, Knight, sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Baron. sir *Edward Barkham*, Knight and Baronet, sir *Tho-*

mas Fowler, Knight and Baronet, ſir *Richard Sprignall* Baronet, the Lievtenant of the Tower of *London* for the time being, ſir *John Danvers*, ſir *John Franklyn*, ſir *Iohn Hepiſley*, ſir *Iames Harrington*, ſir *William Roberts*, Knights, *Laurence Whittacre*, *Iohn Huxley*, *Thomas Wilcox*, *Iohn Morris*, *Richard Downton*, *Iohn Browne* Clerke of the Parliament, *Iuſtinian Paget*, and *Thomas Swallow* Eſquires, ſhall be Committees, which ſaid ſeverall and reſpective Committees of the ſeverall and reſpective Cities, Countie, and places aforeſaid, ſhall within two dayes next enſuing the publication hereof, meet together at ſome convenient place, in every of the ſaid Cities, Countie and places, and afterwards ſeven of them at the leaſt, ſhall twice in every weeke at the leaſt, meet at ſuch convenient places as they ſhall thinke fit, for the more ſpeedy execution of this Ordinance: and the ſaid reſpective Committees are hereby required and authorized at the dayes and places of their firſt meetings, to divide and apportion the ſeverall ſummes of money, appointed by this Ordinance to be levied for the maintenance of the ſaid Army upon the ſeverall and reſpective Wards, Diviſions, Hundreds, Lathes, and Wapentakes within the ſeverall Cities, Countie, and places aforeſaid, according to the uſuall proportions and diviſions of Rates in the ſaid places; and likewiſe ſhall, and may there agree to divide and ſever themſelves for the better execution of this Ordinance, into ſuch Wards, Hundreds, places and diviſions within their reſpective Cities, Countie and places, as to them ſhall ſeeme expedient, And to take to their aſſiſtance for the more ſpeedy execution of the ſaid ſervice in their ſeverall diviſions, ſuch able and ſufficient perſons as they ſhall think fit, and to aſſemble and meet as often as to them ſhall ſeem good, and forthwith the ſaid Committees, or any two or more of them reſpectively, are hereby authorized and required, to direct their Warrants

Warrants to ſuch number of perſons as they ſhall thinke fit within their ſeverall and reſpective diviſions, to be Aſſeſſours of the ſaid Rates, which ſaid perſons are hereby authorized and required to aſſeſſe all and every perſon and perſons, having any reall or perſonall eſtate within the limits, circuits and bounds of their reſpective diviſions, according to the Rate and proportion in this Ordinance mentioned.

And be it further *Ordained* by the ſaid Lords and Commons, that the ſeverall ſummes of Money before mentioned, and all other ſummes which ſhall be hereafter aſſeſſed or taken upon the ſeverall Cities, County, and Places aforeſaid, ſhall be aſſeſſed and taken both for Lands and goods, upon ſuch perſons and eſtates, and in ſuch manner and forme as is directed for the weekly Aſſeſſement, in an Ordinance of Parliament, of the fourth day of *May* laſt paſt intituled, *An* Ordinance *of both Houſes of Parliament, for the ſpeedy rayſing and Leavying of money, for the Maintenance of the Army raiſed by the Parliament, and other great affaires of the Common-wealth by a weekly Aſſeſſment.* And to the end the ſaid rates be equally and indifferently Aſſeſſed, and the monies duly collected, and true Accompt thereof made, The ſaid Aſſeſſors are hereby required within ſix dayes after ſuch Aſſeſſement made, to deliver two Copies of their reſpective Aſſeſſements fairely written and ſubſcribed by them, unto the ſaid reſpective Committees, or to any of them, whereof one to remaine with the ſaid Committee, and the other to be delivered to the Collectors, with Warrants to Levie the ſaid monies. And the ſaid ſeverall Committees or any two of them are hereby reſpectively Authoriſed from time to time, to nominate one or more ſufficient and honeſt perſons in every diviſion or Alotment, to be Collectors of the ſaid monies ſo Aſſeſſed and rated, which ſaid Collectors are hereby authorized and required to Collect the ſaid monies ſo Aſſeſſed, and the ſaid Committee or any ſix of them are hereby

hereby Authoriſed to allow and pay unto the ſaid reſpective Collectors, two pence in the pound for their paines in Collecting the ſaid monies; and one penny in the Pound to their Clerkes for their paines, in faire writing the ſaid Aſſeſſement. And if any perſon ſhall refuſe or neglect to pay any ſumme of money, whereat hee ſhall be rated or Aſſeſſed, that then it ſhall or may be lawfull to and for the ſaid Collectors or any of them, to Leavie the ſumme ſo Aſſeſſed by diſtreſſe and ſale of the goods of ſuch perſons ſo refuſing or neglecting to pay, deducting the ſumme Aſſeſſed, and the reaſonable charges of diſtrayning, and reſtore the over-plus to the Owner thereof; And to breake open any Houſe, Cheſt, Trunke, Box, or other thing, wherein any ſuch Goods are, and to call to their Aſſiſtance any of the Trained Bands, or any other Forces within the Cities, Countie, and Places, where any reſiſtance ſhall be made, or any other perſon or perſons whatſoever; which ſaid Forces and Perſons are hereby required to be ayding and aſſiſting in the Premiſſes, as they ſhall anſwer the contrary at their perills. And if any queſtion or difference happen upon the taking ſuch diſtreſſe betweene the Parties diſtrained and diſtraining, the ſame ſhall be ended, and determined by the ſaid Committees or any two of them, and the ſaid ſeverall Committees or any two or more of them, are hereby Authorized and required to uſe ſuch other wayes or meanes for the ſpeedy Leavying of the ſaid Aſſeſſments, as to them ſhall be thought fit. And if any perſon or perſons ſhall purpoſely convey his or their goods or other perſonall Eſtate, whereby the ſumme of Money ſo Aſſeſſed, cannot be Leavied according to this Ordinance, then the ſaid reſpective Committees or any two of them are hereby Authorized by themſelves, or ſuch other perſons as they ſhall appoint, to Impriſon the perſons, and to Sequeſter the Eſtate of every ſuch perſon, for the Advancement of the ſaid ſervice, and the Tennants of all houſes and lands which ſhall be rated by vertue of this Ordinance, are hereby required and Authoriſed to pay ſuch ſummes of money as ſhall be rated upon every ſuch houſe and Lands, and to deduct out of their rents ſo much of the ſaid rates, as in reſpect of the Rents of every ſuch Houſe and Lands, the Landlords ſhould or ought to pay or beare; and the Landlords both mediate and immediate according to their reſpective Intereſt, are hereby

required

required to allow ſuch deductions and payments upon the Receipt of the Reſidue of their Rents, and to give Acquittances for the whole Rents, as if no deductions had beene made. And if any Landlord ſhall refuſe to make ſuch Allowance or deduction, or to give ſuch acquittances, then the reſpective Committees for the Sequeſtrations in the Cities, County, and places aforeſaid upon prooſe thereof made before them, are hereby Authorized for every time they ſhall ſo refuſe, to ſeize and ſequeſter for the ſervice aforeſaid one full halfe yeares Rent payable to ſuch perſons ſo refuſing, allowing out of the ſame, the ſumme of money ſo paid by the Tenant as aforeſaid; And if any difference ſhall ariſe betweene Landlord and Tenant, or any other concerning the ſaid Rates, the ſaid ſeverall Committees, or any two of them in their ſeverall Diviſions, have hereby power to ſettle the ſame as they ſhall thinke fit; And the ſaid Collectours and every of them are hereby required from time to time, to pay ſuch ſumme and ſummes of money as ſhall be by them Collected by vertue of this Ordinance to the ſaid Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, Treaſurer at Warres.

And be it further Ordained, that the ſeverall and reſpective Committees, in the ſeverall Cities, County and places aforeſaid, ſhall and are hereby required, to cauſe one Moneths Aſſeſſement according to this Ordinance to be aſſeſſed, leavied, collected, and paid unto the ſaid Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, at or before the ſeventeenth day of *Aprill*, 1644. which ſaid Moneths Aſſeſſement ſhall be reckoned as the firſt Moneths pay for the ſaid Army, due out of the ſaid Cities, County and places aforeſaid by vertue of this Ordinance. And the ſaid ſeverall Committees are hereby required to take ſpeciall care that the ſaid monethly Aſſeſſements be conſtantly leavied, collected, and paid to the ſaid Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, Treaſurer at warres, once in every Moneth after the ſaid ſeventeenth day of *April*, during the continuance of the terme mentioned in this Ordinance, accounting 28 dayes and no more to each Moneth.

And be it further ordained by the Lords and Commons, That foure fit and able perſons ſhall be elected to be imployed as Commiſſioners from both Houſes of Parliament, and the ſaid Cities and County aforeſaid; to be conſtantly abiding in the ſaid Army, which perſons ſhall be elected and nominated by the Houſe of Commons. Which ſaid Commiſſioners ſo appointed to attend the Army ſhall have each of them the ſumme of twenty ſhillings for every day they ſhall attend the ſaid ſervice to be paid by the ſaid Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and the County of *Middleſex* and places aforeſaid.

And to that purpoſe it is further Ordained by the Lords and Commons, that the ſaid ſeverall Committees hereby nominated, or any ſixe of them in the reſpective Cities, County, and places aforeſaid ſhall have power, and are hereby Authorized to impoſe a rate upon the ſaid ſeverall and reſpective Cities, County, and places aforeſaid, for the payment of the ſaid Allowance of Twenty ſhilling, by the day to the ſaid Commiſſioners to be Aſſeſſed, levied and collected, as the other Aſſeſſement in this Ordinance mentioned is to be Aſſeſſed, levied and collected.

And be it further Ordained, That the Commiſſioners appointed to reſide in the Army ſhall take ſpeciall care that they keepe conſtant correſpondence with the two Houſes of Parliament, or with ſuch as they ſhall nominate, and with the reſpective Committees of the reſpective Cities, County, and places aforeſaid; And that they take ſuch courſe, that no Commander or Officer ſhall receive any pay, but ſuch as duly attend their charge; And it is deſired that the ſaid Earle of *Eſſex* doe admit to his counſell for the purpoſes aforeſaid, the ſaid Commiſſioners reſiding in his Army to adviſe with them, and arme them with power to view and examine the Muſters of the ſaid Army, and to take ſuch courſe as ſhall be thought moſt fit for the preventing of dead Payments, falſe Muſters, free quartering without Warrants, Plundring, ſeizing of Horſes, ſelling, ſpoyling, or imbezelling of Horſes

or

or Armes, and for the avoyding of any other miſdemeanour which may turne to the prejudice of the Common-wealth; And that the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall once in fifteene dayes certifie the ſtate of the Army, and give an accompt of their proceedings unto the Parliament, or to ſuch Committees as they ſhall appoint for that purpoſe; And ſhall likewiſe certifie what further Inſtructions ſhall be agreed upon by the Counſell of VVarre touching the ſame; And whereas ſince the beginning of this warre, great and unneceſſary waſte hath beene made of Horſes and Armes, by the negligence and abuſe of Souldiers, whereby the Kingdome will become unable to continue Tillage, and to recruite the Armies, unleſſe ſome ſpeedy proviſion be made to prevent the ſame.

Be it further ordained. That the Captaines both of Horſe and Foote out of the pay due to themſelves and their Company are to make good all the Horſes, and Horſe-armes, and Foot-armes, that ſhall be loſt and imbezilled by them, or any under their command, unleſſe they can make it appeare that they were loſt in ſervice againſt the enemy. Provided, That no Officer ſhall be obliged to make good the Armes or Horſe of any Souldiers that ſhall runne away from their Colours, if the ſaid Officers ſhall within twenty foure houres after the departure of ſuch Souldier, give notice thereof to the Commiſſioners reſiding in the Army, to the end ſpeedy courſe may be taken for their apprehending and puniſhment.

And be it further Ordained by the ſaid Lords and Commons, That if any perſon or perſons ſhall wilfully neglect, or refuſe to performe his duty in the due and ſpeedy Execution of this preſent Ordinance, the ſaid reſpective Committees, or any five of them, have hereby Power to impoſe upon ſuch perſon or perſons ſo refuſing or neglecting their duties, ſuch Fine or Fines as to them ſhall be thought fit, and cauſe the ſame to be levied by diſtreſſe and ſale of goods in manner and forme aforeſaid; Provided, That no Fine to be impoſed upon any of the ſaid Committees, ſhall not for any one Offence exceed the ſumme of forty ſhillings; And that no

fine to be impoſed upon any Aſſeſſor, Collector or other perſon to be immployed by the ſaid Committees in the ſaid ſervice, ſhall for any offence exceede the ſumme of forty ſhillings. And that no priviledged place or perſon within the Citties, County and places aforeſaid, ſhalbe exempted from the ſaid Aſſeſſements and Taxes.

And be it further Ordained that the ſaid ſeverall and reſpective Committees and every of them ſhall from time to time give a true and perfect Accompt of all their doings and proceedings in the execution of this Ordinance to the two Houſes of Parliament, or to ſuch perſons as they ſhall appoint.

And it is further Ordained that if any perſon or perſons, ſhal buy or take to pawne or receive any of the Armes, or horſe, belonging to any Common ſouldier or Officer under the degree of a Coronett or Enſigne, that ſuch perſon or perſons ſhall forfeite ſuch Armes, and horſe, and treble the value of ſuch Armes and horſe, and ſhalbe impriſoned by the ſpace of twenty eight dayes without Baile or maineprize. And the Lord Generall is hereby enabled by himſelfe or ſuch as hee ſhall appoint, if it be within the quarters of his Army, and the deputy Lievtenants, and Juſtices of the peace, and Committees of Parliament or any one of them in their reſpective Lymits ſhall have power, and are hereby authoriſed to examine the fact and upon prooſe thereof to ſee this clauſe duly executed.

And it is further Ordained by the ſaid Lords and Commons, that every Captaine both of horſe and foot, and every other inferior and ſuperior Officer, or other in the ſaid Army, whoſe pay comes to ten ſhillings a day or above ſhall take but halfe the pay due to him, and ſhall reſpit the other halfe upon the publique faith untill theſe unnaturall warres be ended, and every Officer or other that is to have five ſhillings a day or above, and under ten ſhillings, ſhall accept of two thirds of the pay due to him, and ſhall reſpitt one third part upon the pulike faith untill theſe unnaturall Warres ſhalbe ended,

ended, And when there is three moneths pay due to any of them, or more, a certificate thereof from the said Earle, shalbe sufficient to demand the said Moneyes oweing upon the publique faith as aforesaid, and it is ordained that the Lord Generall be desired, and the said Commissioners are hereby required and injoyned, to see the Articles touching the mustering and payment of the Army, and concerning horse, Arms, and ammunition, and all such further directions as from time to time concerning the Army, and the affaires thereof, shalbe recommended to their care by one or either House of Parliament, be duly observed, and to take care that the Country be not charged with free quarter, and whereas the army now under the imediate command of the Lord Generall doth consist of many more Regiments both of horse and foote, and consequently of more Officers then can have imployment as the Army is to be reduced by this Ordinance; By means whereof divers Commanders and Officers, who are very worthy and desirous of the service, cannot at present have imployment according to their qualities, for whose support and maintenance some competent provision is to be made untill there shalbe places and imployments for them. It is therefore ordained and declared by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, and the Lord Generall is hereby authorized to entertaine such and so many of the said Officers as by the Lord Generall shalbe thought fit, and shalbe by this occasion out of imployment, into the condition of reformadoe Officers, and shall forme them under Command, into two troopes of horse not exceeding 100. in each troope besides Officers, in augumentation of the Lord Generals owne Regiment; which Officers so formed, and attending the service, shall have such entertainements, and in such manner as is hereafter expressed, that is to say, the said Officers respectively according to the quality of their late imployment, shall each of them respectively be paid, from time to time as the rest of the Army is paid one fourth part of his personall entertainement, according to the list or establishment of the Army, over and besides the

fine to be impoſed upon any Aſſeſſor, Collector or other perſon to be immployed by the ſaid Committees in the ſaid ſervice, ſhall for any offence exceede the ſumme of forty ſhillings. And that no priviledged place or perſon within the Citties, County and places aforeſaid, ſhalbe exempted from the ſaid Aſſeſſements and Taxes.

And be it further Ordained that the ſaid ſeverall and reſpective Committees and every of them ſhall from time to time give a true and perfect Accompt of all their doings and proceedings in the execution of this Ordinance to the two Houſes of Parliament, or to ſuch perſons as they ſhall appoint.

And it is further Ordained that if any perſon or perſons, ſhal buy or take to pawne or receive any of the Armes, or horſe, belonging to any Common ſouldier or Officer under the degree of a Coronett or Enſigne, that ſuch perſon or perſons ſhall forfeite ſuch [illegible] the value of [illegible]y the ſpace [illegible]ze. And the ſuch as hee Army, and [illegible], and Com- [illegible]ir reſpective [illegible]iſed to ex- clauſe duly

IRREGULAR

PAGINATION

[illegible] by the ſaid Lords and Commons, that every Captaine both of horſe and foot, and every other inferior and ſuperior Officer, or other in the ſaid Army, whoſe pay comes to ten ſhillings a day or above ſhall take but halfe the pay due to him, and ſhall reſpit the other halfe upon the publique faith untill theſe unnaturall warres be ended, and every Officer or other that is to have five ſhillings a day or above, and under ten ſhillings, ſhall accept of two thirds of the pay due to him, and ſhall reſpitt one third part upon the pulike faith untill theſe unnaturall Warres ſhalbe ended,

ended, And when there is three moneths pay due to any of them, or more, a certificate thereof from the ſaid Earle, ſhalbe ſufficient to demand the ſaid Moneyes oweing upon the publique faith as aforeſaid, and it is ordained that the Lord Generall be deſired, and the ſaid Commiſſioners are hereby required and injoyned, to ſee the Articles touching the muſtering and payment of the Army, and concerning horſe, Arms, and ammunition, and all ſuch further directions as from time to time concerning the Army, and the affaires thereof, ſhalbe recommended to their care by one or either Houſe of Parliament, be duly obſerved, and to take care that the Country be not charged with free quarter, and whereas the army now under the imediate command of the Lord Generall doth conſiſt of many more Regiments both of horſe and foote, and conſequently of more Officers then can have imployment as the Army is to be reduced by this Ordinance; By means whereof divers Commanders and Officers, who are very worthy and deſirous of the ſervice, cannot at preſent have imployment according to their qualities, for whoſe ſupport and maintenance ſome competent proviſion is to be made untill there ſhalbe places and imployments for them. It is therefore ordained and declared by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, and the Lord Generall is hereby authorized to entertaine ſuch and ſo many of the ſaid Officers as by the Lord Generall ſhalbe thought fit, and ſhalbe by this occaſion out of imployment, into the condition of reformadoe Officers, and ſhall forme them under Command, into two troopes of horſe not exceeding 100. in each troope beſides Officers, in augumentation of the Lord Generals owne Regiment; which Officers ſo formed, and attending the ſervice, ſhall have ſuch entertainements, and in ſuch manner as is hereafter expreſſed, that is to ſay, the ſaid Officers reſpectively according to the quality of their late imployment, ſhall each of them reſpectively be paid, from time to time as the reſt of the Army is paid one fourth part of his perſonall entertainement, according to the liſt or eſtabliſhment of the Army, over and beſides the

ordinary pay of troopers, Harquebuſheers, and one other fourth part of his perſonall entertainement according to the ſaid liſt and eſtabliſhment of the Army, ſhalbe reſpited upon the publique faith, untill theſe unnaturall warrs be ended.

Laſtly be it ordained and declared by the authority aforeſaid, that this Army under the immediate Command of the Lord Generall the Earle of *Eſſex*, ſhalbe ſubject to the Orders and directions of both Houſes of Parliament, or the Committee of both Kingdomes, according to the Ordinance that doth eſtabliſh that Committee. Provided alwayes that ſuch rates and aſſeſſements, as ſhall be made by virtue of this Ordinance upon any members, Aſſiſtants or Attendants upon either of the Houſes of Parliament, ſhall before the ſame bee leavied, bee preſented to the reſpective Houſes, whoſe members, Aſſiſtants, or Attendants, ſhall be concerned therein reſpectively, and by ſuch reſpective Houſe allowed and approved of, any thing in this Ordinance to the contrary notwithſtanding.

FINIS.

Ordered by the Commons in Parliament that this Ordinance be forthwith printed and publiſhed

Hen. Elſynge. *Cler. Parl. Dom. Com.*

THE 20

EQVITY

Of the Solemne

LEAGVE and *COVENANT*

IVSTIFIED,

Againſt an Infectious and Libellous Pamphlet:

INTITVLED, THE

INIQVITY

Of the late Solemne

League and *Covenant* Diſcovered.

As it was lately ſent from *Oxford*: and intercepted by the way to *London*.

Written by Way of Caution to all thoſe who either have or ſhall reade the ſaid dangerous Paper.

Printed for *John Field*. 1644. *Mar:* 29

THE EQVITY OF THE SOLEMNE *LEAGVE* and *COVENANT* IVSTIFIED.

IT being my fortune to meet with a frivolous and groundleſſe pamphlet, penned as by the Title appeares, on purpoſe to traduce the *Equity* and *Juſtneſſe* of our *Sacred Solemne League* and *Covenant*, and to poiſon the People with a miſunderſtanding thereof: And being informed that many of the papers were by *Malignants* and other ill Members procured and diſperſed abroad by ſtealth, and in a clandeſtine way: I thought my ſelf bound by the duty I owe unto God, and the publike obligations of this *Covenant*, wherein I have a peculiar intereſt, to take in hand to anſwer it, and remove thoſe ſcruples, and ill-contrived ſtumbling-blocks, which are caſt in the way of thoſe which have not as yet come in, and ſubſcribed to this holy Covenant.

I will not at all take notice of the bitterneſſe of the Traiterous and Seditious preamble, which ſufficiently ſets forth the Conſtitution of the Author. But conſidering that *Oxford* is the place from whence it came (where all their Doctrine is railiug) I purpoſely paſſe it by, and will in a facile moderate way, betake my ſelfe to the ground work of the buſineſſe.

It is pretended to be written to a gentleman of his own party now in Durance, which deſired ſatisfactiun upon the point, who was intended to take the *Covenant*, as a meanes to procure his liberty; which before he abſolutely reſolved upon, he deſires information from this dangerous Counſellour, who tels him, if his reſolution and advice

may in time be herad, it ſtands thus upon theſe two points.

I. *That no man can with a ſafe Conſcience enter this Covenant by reaſon of the groſſe and palpable Iniquity of the Contents thereof.*

II. *That he who through his own ignorance and cunning of others, hath been ſeduced, or by their threats and menaces forced, or by any other meanes brought to enter this Covenant with them, is not bound to the performance of the Contents, but having by the taking of it, contracted their guilt of a grievous ſinne, is bound to a ſpeedy repentance for the ſame.*

Theſe were notable convincing points indeed, if they were proved: But he cares not for the reality of proof, ſo he may reduce his arguments to ſome ſpecious frame; for the maine ſcope, or end, which he pretends to by reaſoning upon theſe two points, is ſet downe in theſe two particulars.

Firſt, In the reſolving and keeping a good conſcience (as he ſtiles it) in the refuſall of this *Covenant*, by reaſon of the groſſe and palpable Iniquity of the contents thereof.

Secondly, For the recovery of the Conſcience enſnared by entring this *Covenant*, wherein is conſidered the not binding of it, if taken; which particulars, if thou canſt make good, *Tu Dominus, Tu vir, Tu mihi frater eris*: I ſhall moſt willingly Subſcribe.

Thus far we have a fair porch to the building, and which might take any man at the firſt ſight: But let us now make entry, and ſee what furniture wee can finde within to entertaine a mans underſtanding.

He proceeds to frame Obiections againſt the ſeverall Articles of the *Covenant*. And the firſt thing he excepts againſt, is, *that we are bound to endeavour the extirpation of Prelacie, and Church-Government by Archbiſhops Biſhops, &c.* By the firſt and ſecond Articles; and not onely ſo, but really and conſtantly to endeavour the ſame. Now he bids him ſee the Iniquity of this.

Object. 1. *Firſt, he ſayes, here is ſedition: Subjects entring into a Covenant for a change of eſtabliſhed government, without and againſt their Soveraignes Command and Authority.*

Anſw. I anſwer, that this is not done againſt the Authority of our Soveraign, but this covenanting againſt Prelacie, is ordained, and entred upon, by thoſe who have Soveraign Authority communicated unto them from the King in Parliament, and by them it is commended

ded unto the People to be ſworne againſt, as a government inconſiſtent with the good of the Kingdomes. Out of what Lawes Divine, or Civill and Nationall, do you read, that an Act of the grand Eſtates of a Kingdome lawfully convened, may be called ſedition.

Object. 2. *Secondly, hee ſayes, Here is injuſtice to fellow-ſubjects: Subjects entring a Covenant, and binding themſelves to do notorious wrong and injury to others; that is, to extirpate a company of men, Whoſe Function is of Apoſtolicall inſtitution, and hath continued in this Land from the firſt receiving of the Chriſtian Faith; Whoſe immunities alſo, and priviledges, are undeniably, moſt ancient and legall in this Kingdome.*

Anſw. 1. Firſt, I anſwer, That it could never be proved yet (though there have been many papers vented pretending the probation of it) that ſo much as regulated Epiſcopacie, was of Apoſtolicall inſtitution, muchleſſe Prelacie an order of a higher ſtraine, with all its Hierachicall Appurtenances, both of them being held in the opinion of the moſt and beſt Proteſtants unqueſtionable and obvious to all men, to be but of humane inſtitution.

Anſw. 2. Secondly, I anſwer: Be it granted that their immunities and priviledges are ancient and legall within this Kingdome; yet you muſt remember, that thoſe immunities and priviledges were at firſt conferred upon them by the favour and indulgence of the State, in thoſe dayes of the growing greatneſſe of the Clergie, why then may not the ſame power of the State, in the ancient and legall Court of Parliament, derived to their ſucceſſors, now lawfully aſſembled, with as much reaſon deprive them of thoſe immunities, together with their greatneſſe, which have proved undeniably ſo prejudiciall to the Kingdome.

Anſw. 3. Thirdly, I anſwer, that our covenanting to extirpate Prelacie cannot be called injuſtice, nor injury to our fellow-ſubjects by the ſame reaſon alſo: Becauſe the abolition of thoſe accidentall priviledges, the fruitfull parents of ſo many intolerable exorbitances, is agreed upon by the Supreme Court of Juſtice, the repreſentative Body of the Nation, which of it ſelf is ſufficient to annull the Hierarchie; but becauſe Authority is of little availment, without the addition of forcible power in times of difficulty, oppoſition & rebellion of deſperate Incendiaries; therfore it was neceſſary that the loyall partee of the Land ſhould be ingaged by Covenant, to defend the Parliament in the proſecution of their moſt juſt proceedings, to re-

dreſſe the grievances of the Subject, of which, Prelacy is not the leaſt, as alſo, for the chaſtizing of Delinquents; And how is it poſſible that this Prelaticall government ſhould be convenient for a State or Kingdome: whereas,

1. They have been burthenſome in all ages, what oppoſites in *England* have they been to our Kings, till their intereſts were changed?

2. Secondly, all reformed Churches have expelled them, as incompatible with Reformation.

3. Thirdly, they have ſet three Kingdomes together by the eares, which now lie weltring in their own blood.

4. Fourthly, experience now ſhewes, there is no inconvenience in their want, either in *Scotland* or *England*.

Object. 3. *The third Objection is, that here is ſacrilledge, in ſpoyling them, or a Church rather, of thoſe poſſeſſions and intereſts, which beſide the right of dedication, do by as good Law and Title belong to them, as any Liberty and poſſeſſion doth to other Subjects.*

Anſw. Be it granted, that the right of their poſſeſſions hold good by Law; yet when their Order and Function ſhall be diſannulled by Law, there muſt be a neceſſity of diſpoſing their Revenues otherwiſe, to the benefit of the Church, and ſo the end of the dedication being kept, by diſpoſing them to that uſe whereto they were at firſt intended, it were vain and fooliſh to call this ſacriledge and ſpoiling of the Church.

Object. 4. *The fourth and laſt objection againſt the firſt and ſecond Articles of the Covenant is, that here is rebellion with the greateſt impiety: Subjects endeavouring this by force of Armes (as it will appeare by the ſixt Article, they that Covenant bind themſelves to do) that is to compell your Soveraigne to ſuch an extirpation and ſpoiling, againſt which he is bound by the Law of God, and by expreſſe oath, and cannot be releaſed of that oath, without their conſent to whom he makes it, viz. thoſe that muſt here be extirpated and ſpoiled.*

Anſw. 1. Firſt I anſwer, that here is neither Rebellion, nor impiety in the leaſt kind, to endeavour the extirpation of thoſe by Armes, which have been the maine cauſe of this preſent warre againſt the Parliament, and enemies to Reformation; with whom, becauſe the King is now there in perſon, being ſeduced by evill Councellors, and ſuch as have a deſigne to alter our Religion, invade

our

our Liberties, and bring in Popery; therefore we ſhall not defend our ſelves, our Religion and Liberties, nor labour to deliver the King from them, but you will ſay, we Covenant to compell His Majeſtie to that which in conſcience he cannot do, that is, to extirpate prelacie; which brings me to my ſecond anſwer.

Anſw. 2. Secondly I anſwer, that no oath is to be obſerved, but in *licitis & honeſtis*, ſo farre forth as the matter ſworn to is approved and found lawfull; and it holds good in Divinity, that ſuch oathes as are not lawfull, are rather to be repented of, then perſiſted in. But upon politicke conſiderations there needs not any repentance, where the ſame power which ordained the things ſworn to, doth after the manifeſt inconvenience of it, with the preſent conſtitution of publike affaires, ordaine alſo the aboliſhment thereof: for then the obligation becomes altogether invalid, and in no wiſe binding to the ſwearer: And therefore it is frivolous to ſay that the King cannot be releaſed of ſuch an oath as he hath taken to maintain Prelacie, unleſſe the Prelates give conſent; when at the beſt (to uſe the Language of the learned Exhortation to the taking of the Covenant) their whole government is but a humane conſtitution, and ſuch as is found and adjudged by both Houſes of Parliament: (in which the judgement of the whole Kingdom is involved and declared) not only very prejudiciall to the civill State, but alſo a great hindrance to the perfect Reformation of Religion.

His ſecond exception is againſt the fourth Article, whereby he ſayes, he which enters this Covenant doth profeſſe, that he allow all thoſe which adhere to His Majeſtie in this cauſe, ſhould be eſteemed, and proceeded againſt, as Malignants, Incendiaries, and as in the firſt Article they are ſet out, common enemies: Alſo by the ſame, fourth Article he binds himſelf to diſcover all ſuch, that they may be brought to puniſhment.

Object. *Now he tels him that the iniquity of this appears by what was ſaid upon the former Articles; but more eſpecially by the duties unto which the Oathes of Supremacy and allegiance bind all Subiects, viz. the aſſiſting of His Majeſtie againſt all attempts, and the diſcovering unto Him all conſpiracies, duties contrary to what is undertaken here.*

Anſw. I anſwer, that it is great equity and reaſon, that thoſe now about his Majeſty, which have involved him in this war, and are declared

declared and known to be Incendiaries and Malignants, and the common Enemies of the Kingdome, ſhould be diſcovered and proceeded againſt thereafter; and that the equity of that Article may further appeare, the intent of it is the very ſame with thoſe, in the Oathes of Supremacie and Allegiance, *viz.* The aſſiſting of his Majeſtie againſt attempts, and the diſcovering of conſpiracies; which doth not only evidence the equity, but alſo the ſeaſonablneſſe of this Covenant, being taken in ſuch a time, when there are ſo many attempts, practices and conſpiracies in hand by a deſperate partee of Cavaliers againſt Religion, and the Kingdome; the greateſt of which attempts is abſolutely againſt his Majeſtie, though it ſeem otherwiſe, by engageing his Perſon in a bloody and ſtrange war.

Object. *The third exception taken, is concerning a clauſe in the third Article, for preſerving and defending the Kings Majeſties Perſon, and Authority, without any thought or intention of diminiſhing his juſt power and greatneſſe*; And all which he hath to ſay againſt it, is this: *That though hee which enters this Covenant, may thinke this clauſe to be juſt and faire, yet is it indeed a fearfull colluſion and mocking of God, there being nothing more againſt his Majeſties authoritie and power, then the intent and purſuit of this Covenant.*

Anſw. All the anſwer which I ſhall give to this, is, that it is but his ſay ſo, and I ſhall referre the impertiall Reader, to my former anſwers.

Object. *His fourth exception is againſt the fifth Article; and hee objects, that hee which enters this Covenant, doth binde himſelf by that Article, to indeavour the continuance of peace between the two Kingdomes, which, according to the intent of this Covenant, hee muſt do, by joyning with thoſe who have actually broken the Pacification, and in purſuit of this Covenant, invaded this Kingdome, which is alſo a fearfull colluſion and mocking of God.*

Anſw. I anſwer, that it is abſurd to ſay, that the Pacification between the two Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland* is broken by this Covenant, when both the Kingdomes by an unanimous conſent, are joyned in this holy League for the mutuall defence and preſervation of each others peace; and with as little reaſon may it be called an Invaſion, or a colluſion and mocking of God

God: For it is monſtrous to conceive that any men ſhould affirm that ratification to be broken, when the perſons ratifying do joyntly proſecute the preſervation of it, by vertue of this Covenant, with all earneſtneſſe and alacrity, which is manifeſted at this day by an ample teſtimony of the full and free concurrence of the Bodies of both Nations.

The fifth exception taker, is againſt the ſixt Article; becauſe he that enters this Covenant doth profeſſe by the ſixt Article, that he allowes and approoves the Aſſiſting and defending of all thoſe, that take this Covenant, in the maintaining and purſuing thereof, againſt all oppoſition, and lets or impediments whatſoever; and by the ſame Article binds himſelf really and conſtantly, to endeavour the ſame to his power, without giving himſelfe to a deteſtable neutrality in this cauſe, or making a defection to the contrary part.

Object. *Now ſee*, ſaies he, *the iniquity of this Article, which ſo plainely ſpeakes the language of deſperate Rebellion, that he which Covenants with them, doth by this Article binde himſelfe to endeavour by force of Armes, to compell his Soveraigne to the Reformation pretended by this Covenant, and doth, as much as in him lies, cut himſelfe off from returning to his Duty and Obedience, which is here called, a defection to the contrary part.*

Anſw. I anſwer, that by this you may ſee the Iniquity of the Author, and the deſparate ſence he makes uſe of to miſ-informe the Gentleman he wrote unto. The Equity of the Article is apparent; That there ſhould be a firme adhearing to this Covenant and continuance in his ſame, notwithſtanding all oppoſition, contradiction, or diſwaſion to the contrary whatſoever. *All the people ſtood to the Covenant*, 2 *King.* 23. 4. This was *Joſiah* his care not onely for himſelfe, but for all the people; He made all that were found in *Judeth* and *Benjamin* to ſtand to it, *ſo all his dayes they turned not backe from the Lord God of their Fathers*, 2 *Chron.* 34. 32, 33. But as for that ſlaunder of compelling our Soveraigne by force of Armes to a Reformation; I anſwer, that it is not properly to compell him, but rather to expell thoſe from him, which are enemies to Reformation, and in time would approve themſelves ſo unto him alſo, if not reſiſted by his faithfull Subjects, and compell him to enact what themſelves pleaſe; which, what it would be if conſidered, is enough

to engage all true Christian hearts against them: And therefore they are bound to this Covenant by that duty, obedience, and loyalty which they owe unto their Soveraigne his Crowne and dignity, and the welfare of the Kingdomes, without defection to the contrary part.

Object. His last Exception is against a clause in the sixth Article, *That he which enters this Covenant, doth professe that he approves, and binds himselfe to all the premisses in the Articles, as to that which much concernes the glory of God, the good of the Kingdoms, and the honour of the King: and this he saies is to fill up the measure, and to mocke God Almighty to his face.*

Answ. I answer, Let all men judge how unreasonable and hellish a slaunder this is, and observe with what wresting these black characters of a false Comment, are here brought in under pretence of writing information to a Gentleman, to defame the genuine, and innocent sence of a glorious Covenant.

Thus I have done with the first particular of his discourse, which pretended to proove a necessity of refusing this Covenant, by a false imputation of grosse and palpable Iniquity upon the contents thereof. Now I shall proceed to the second particular, pretending to prove a necessity of repenting of it, if once taken.

If he could have proved the premisses, then the Conclusion would have followed more current, for I grant what he saies, That the matter and intent of any Covenant being unlawfull, it cannot binde to performance, no more then *Herods* oath did bind him to proceed to execution, *Matth.* 14. or the great curse under which the forty Conspirators, *Act.* 23. combined themselves to make an end of *Paul*, could indeede oblige them to performance; But the former point being not proved, the sence of the Covenant being rather defamed and traduced, then controverted justly; This latter point grounded upon the former, must of necessity fall of it selfe, and therefore it needs not an answer, running altogether *ex falsa Hypothesi*, upon a false supposition of Iniquity in the Covenant which is not as yet proved, nor can it be by the Iesuits, and Iesuited impugners at *Oxford*. If they can furnish us with some convincing Arguments in this way, I my selfe who am a Covenanter, will not speedily repent of it, but also perswade others: but till then you must pardon me.

Now

Now in relation to the latter part of his discourse, I shall onely give you notice that the frame of it is grounded upon a false insinuation,

Object. *That this Covenant doth contrary the Oathes of allegiance and supremacie; and that the Iudges here tooke it with this reservation: as thus, I take this Covenant so far forth as it doth not contrary the Oathes of Allegiance and Supremacie.* But,

Answ. 1. First, I answer with the words of the learned exhortation to the taking of the Covenant, that this Covenant is so far from crossing the Oathes of Supremacy and Allegiance, that it binds all, and more strongly engageth them to preserve, and defend the Kings Majesties person and authority in the preservation and defence of the true Religon and Liberties of the Kingdomes.

Answ. 2. I answer that the Iudges tooke it without any such reservation he speakes of, or any other at all.

But this latter part need no answer (in regard as I said before) of the grounding it upon a false supposition of the illegality and injustnesse of this Covenant, which is not as yet proved: And therefore I advise all to take heed both of the former and the latter, and to weigh the former objections with the answers impartially and seriously, not as men fore-armed with prejudicate opinions but as those that desire sincerely to be informed of the necessity and excellency of this holy Covenant.

The Apostle *Peter* speakes of *Pauls* writing, that in them some things are hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned, and unstable, wrest, as they do also the other scriptures, to their own destruction. 2. Epist. chap. 3. vers. 16. But here on the contrary, though the text of this Covenant be easie to be understood, we see that some (who at lest think themselves) learned, and who are not only stable but stiffened (as most of the Oxford partie are) in their own erroneous principles and opinions, will be trying their skill (or rather malice) to wrest or (as the Greek word *strebloũ* imparts) to torture and set this Covenant upon the racke, to make it speake, and confesse a sence never intended by the composers, or proposers of it: And whereof (if but common ingenuity be the judge) it never will, nor can be found guilty: But at this time, I shall say no more to the Author of this base, injurious paper, but that in the close of the verse quoted from the Apostle *Peter*; Let him take

take heed ſuch wreſting as this be not to his own deſtruction.

Thus I hope in anſwering this virulent Pamphlet, I have given the Readers ſome inſite into the matter of this holy League & Covenant, according to the ſincere aime of thoſe that made it; Take it then Reader and ſweare to it: Who but an Atheiſt can refuſe the firſt Article? Who but a Papiſt the ſecond: who but an oppreſſor, or Rebell the third? Who but the guilty the fourth? Who but men of no fortune, deſperate Caviliers the fifth (Who but light and empty men, unſtable as water the ſixt? In a word the duty is ſuch that God hath ordained, the matter is ſuch as God approveth, and the conſequence will be ſuch as God hath promiſed, the accompliſhment of our peace and happineſſe in this life, and the finall conſummation of it in that which is to come.

This is Licenced and entred according to Order.

FINIS.

AN ORDINANCE OF THE Lords and Commons Assembled in PARLIAMENT:

For the inabling of Sir *William Brereton* Baronet, one of the Members of the House of Commons, speedily to put in Execution the Ordinances for the Sequestration of the Estates of Papists and Delinquents, the Fifth, and Twentieth Part, Weekly Assessement; and all other Ordinances of Parliament, within the County of *Chester*, and County and City of *Chester*: And to take Subscriptions for the better supply and maintenance of the Forces under his Command, for security of the said Places, and preventing the Accesse of the Irish Forces into those Parts.

Also allowing unto the said Sir William Brereton *the personall Estates of all Papists and Delinquents in and about* London, *and within* 20. *miles thereof, as are not yet sequestred or discovered, for the Service aforesaid.*

Die Martis 26. Martii. 1644.

ORdered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, that this Ordinance be forthwith printed and published.

Ioh. Browne Cler. Parliament.

Printed for JOHN WRIGHT in the Old-Baily.
March 29. 1644.

AN ORDINANCE OF THE LORDS and COMMONS in PARLIAMENT:

To inable Sir *William Brereton* Baronet, one of the Members of the Houſe of Commons, to execute the ſeverall Ordinances of Parliament, for Advance of Money within the County of *Cheſter*, and County and City of *Cheſter*, and to take Subſcriptions for the better Supply and Maintenance of the Forces under his Command, for the ſecurity of the ſaid Places, and for prevention of the Acceſſe of the Iriſh Forces into thoſe Parts.

THE Lords and Commons Aſſembled in Parliament taking into their ſerious Conſideration the preſent condition of the County of *Cheſter*, and of the County and City of *Cheſter*, and the Parts adjacent; and the dammage which hath already happened, and may ſtill accrue to this Kingdome, by the frequent Acceſſe of the Iriſh Forces into the ſaid Place, (by meanes of the Haven of *Cheſter* being yet within the Enemies power) joyning themſelves with ſuch Delinquents and Papiſts as are now in Armes in thoſe Parts againſt the Parliament; have thought fit that Courſe be timely taken for prevention of further miſchiefs, by landing of more Iriſh Forces in thoſe Parts. And therefore that they might ſpeedily reduce the ſaid County and City of *Cheſter*, and Places aforeſaid, to their due obedience to the King and Parliament, have thought it neceſſary, that competent Supplies and Proviſions be had

and eſtabliſhed, as well for the Diſcharge and Paiment of ſuch Arrearey as are already due and owing to the Officers and Souldiers imployed in the Service aforeſaid, as for their future maintenance and allowance, during ſuch time as their Service ſhall be requiſite. To which end and purpoſe, the ſaid Lords and Commons, having had good experience, and being fully aſſured of the Fidelity and Reſolution of Sir *William Brereton* Baronet, one of the Members of the Houſe of Commons; and of the forwardneſſe and good Affections of the Deputy-Lievtenants, Commanders, and Inhabitants of the ſaid County of *Cheſter*, have Ordained, and be it Ordained by the ſaid Lords and Commons, That the ſaid Sir *William Brereton* ſhall have full Power and Authority, to take the Subſcriptions of all ſuch Perſons, as will voluntarily lend, or contribute any ſumme or ſummes of Money towards the Supplies and Proviſions aforeſaid, and for other neceſſaries for the advancement of the ſaid Service: Which ſums of Money to be ſubſcribed as aforeſaid, the ſaid Sir *William Brereton*, and his Aſſigns ſhall and may receive and imploy for the Service aforeſaid, and give Notes or Acquittances for the ſeverall ſums ſo received; which ſaid Notes or Acquittances ſhall be a ſufficient Specialty and Evidence for the ſeverall Perſons that ſhall lend or contribute any Money as aforeſaid, to demand repaiment thereof, with ſuch Increaſe as ſhall be agreed upon, ſo as the ſame ſhall not exceed eight pounds *per Centum*. And for the better inabling the ſaid Sir *William Brereton* to make repaiment of ſuch Moneyes as ſhall be lent for the ſaid purpoſes, and to performe ſuch Conditions and Agreements as the ſeverall Subſcribers and Lenders ſhall agree unto as aforeſaid; and for the maintenance and ſupplies of the ſaid Forces, and further advancement of the aforeſaid Service. Be it further Ordained by the ſaid Lords and Commons, That the ſaid Sir *William Brereton*, together with the Deputy-Lieutenants, and Committees of the ſaid County of *Cheſter*, and the County of the City of *Cheſter*, or any two, or more of them, ſhall have full Power and Authority to put in Execution, within the ſaid County of *Cheſter*, and County of the City of *Cheſter* (when the ſame ſhall be reduced) the ſeverall Ordinances of this preſent Parliament hereafter mentioned: That is to ſay, The Ordinances for Sequeſtration of Malignants, Delinquents, and Papiſts Eſtates. The Ordinance for the levying of Moneyes by way of Exciſe, or New Impoſt. The Ordinance for the raiſing of Money, by taxing ſuch as have not at all contributed, or not according to their Eſtates,

Eſtates. The Ordinance for the Weekly Aſſeſſements, and all other Ordinances made this preſent Parliament, for advance of Money through the whole Kingdome and Dominion of *Wales*, for the Service of the King and Parliament, ſo farre forth as they, or any of them, have not beene already fully executed within the Places aforeſaid: and to take care for the full and due Execution of the ſaid Ordinances according to the Tenour and true meaning of the ſame, reſpectively. And for the more ſpeedy raiſing of Moneys for the repayment of ſuch Summes as ſhall be brought in by Subſcriptions, as aforeſaid, and towards the ſatisfaction of ſuch Officers and Souldiers as are or ſhall be in Arreare of their juſt pay and allowance, and for whom there ſhall not be preſent Pay and Proviſion allowed: Be it Ordained by the ſaid Lords and Commons, that the ſaid Sir *William Brereton*, together with ſuch Deputy Lievtenants and Committees as aforeſaid, ſhall have hereby full power and authority to ſet and let the Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, of all Papiſts and Delinquents which are or ſhall be ſeized and ſequeſtred according to the Ordinance of Parliament for Sequeſtration, within the ſaid County of *Cheſter*, and Countie and Citie of *Cheſter*, or either of them from year to year, or by Leaſe or Leaſes for the intents and purpoſes aforeſaid, ſo long as the ſaid Sequeſtration ſhall continue. And in caſe the Lenders or Subſcribers ſhall not receive full ſatisfaction of their principall Money to be lent or ſubſcribed as aforeſaid, with the intereſt thereof, out of the Eſtates of Papiſts and Delinquents, as aforeſaid, or by ſuch other meanes as is hereby provided as aforeſaid, That then the ſaid Lenders and Subſcribers, and every of them, ſhall have the Publique Faith of the Kingdome for the payment of ſuch Summe and Summes of Money as ſhall be due unto them. And whereas the ſaid County of the City of *Cheſter*, is wholly ſubjected to the power and tyrannie of the Forces raiſed againſt the Parliament, by reaſon whereof no Commiſſioners or other Officers could as yet put in execution any of the ſaid Ordinances of Parliament: And whereas ſome perſons formerly appointed by Authority of the Parliament to be Commiſſioners and Officers within the ſaid County of *Cheſter*, and County of the City of *Cheſter* to execute the Ordinances aforeſaid, for the ſervice of the Parliament, have ſince neglected and deſerted the ſame, and manifeſted their diſaffections thereunto. Be it therfore Ordained by the ſaid Lords and Commons, that for the ſupply thereof the ſaid Sir *William Brere-*

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ton, together with ſuch Deputy Lievtenants and Committees as aforeſaid, ſhall have full power and Authority to name and appoint ſuch Commiſſioners, Treaſurers, Collectors, and other Officers within the ſaid County of *Cheſter*, and County and City of *Cheſter*, when the ſame ſhall be reduced, as ſhall be neceſſary (through the defect aforeſaid) for the better putting in execution of all and every the Ordinances of Parliament before mentioned, and of all other Ordinances of Parliament, in caſe either no Commiſſioners or other Officers be named by the Authority of Parliament, to put the ſame in execution within the ſaid County of *Cheſter*, and County and City of *Cheſter*, or either of them, or in caſe the Commiſſioners or other Officers already named, have neglected or deſerted the ſaid Service, or otherwiſe diſcovered their diſaffections to the proceedings of Parliament, which ſaid Commiſſioners and other perſons ſo to be named and appointed by the ſaid Sir *William Brereton*, together with the Deputy-Lievtenants and Committees as aforeſaid, ſhall by vertue of this preſent Ordinance have as full power and authority to put the ſaid reſpective Ordinances in execution, as if they were named by both Houſes of Parliament, and their names inſerted into the ſaid reſpective Ordinances.

And be it alſo ordained by the ſaid Lords and Commons, that the ſeverall Summes of Money which ſhall be lent for the advancement of the ſaid Service, and ſuch increaſe as ſhall be due for every reſpective Summe ſo lent according to the true intent and meaning of this Ordinance, ſhall be ſatisfied and paid out of the Moneyes that ſhall be raiſed within the places aforeſaid, by virtue of the aforementioned Ordinances, or of this preſent Ordinance. And the ſaid Sir *William Brereton*, with ſuch Deputy Lievtenants and Committees as aforeſaid, are hereby enabled and authorized to call to Accompt upon Oath all ſuch perſons of the ſaid County of *Cheſter* as have received any Moneyes by Authority from the Parliament: As alſo to take Accompts upon Oath from time to time of the ſaid Commiſſioners, Treaſurers, and other perſons who ſhall receive any Moneyes within the ſaid places by ſuch Authority as aforeſaid, and the ſame to convert and imploy for the ſervices aforeſaid, and to give ſuch fitting and reaſonable allowances unto ſuch perſons as ſhall be imployed in the execution of the Ordinances aforeſaid, and of this preſent Ordinance, or any of them, for their paines and charges therein, as the ſaid Sir *William Brereton* ſhall thinke fit, provided that ſuch allowance ſhall not exceed the reſpective

tive Rates allowed in other Counties of the Kingdome for putting the ſaid Ordinances in execution: And if any Treaſurers, Collectors or others ſhall refuſe to accompt or pay in the Moneyes wherewith they are charged, then the ſaid Sir *William Brereton*, together with ſuch Deputie Lievtenants and Committees as aforeſaid, ſhall returne their Names to one, or both Houſes of Parliament. And the ſaid Sir *William Brereton*, together with ſuch number of Deputy-Lieutenants, or Committees, as aforeſaid, is hereby Authorized to Adminiſter the ſeverall Oaths ſpecified in the aforeſaid Ordinances, unto ſuch Commiſſioners and Perſons (which have not already taken the ſame) as by the true meaning of the ſaid Ordinances, or of this preſent Ordinance, or any of them, ought to take the ſame. And be it further Ordained by the ſaid Lords and Commons, That the Perſonall Eſtates of ſuch Delinquents and Papiſts within the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and within twenty miles of the ſame, not yet ſequeſtred nor diſcovered; and which ſhall be diſcovered by the ſaid Sir *William Brereton*, or ſuch Perſon or Perſons as he ſhall Authorize under his Hand and Seale for that purpoſe, within two Moneths next after the publiſhing in Print of this Ordinance, ſhall be allowed unto the ſaid Sir *William Brereton*, for the further Advancement of the ſaid Service, provided that the ſaid concealed Eſtates exceed not the ſumme of five thouſand pounds: And that the ſaid Sir *William Brereton*, or any Perſon Authorized by him, as aforeſaid, nor any of them, ſhall poſſeſſe themſelves of the ſaid Papiſts or Delinquents Eſtates, before he or they acquaint the Committee of Lords and Commons for Sequeſtrations therewith, to the end they may judge of the Delinquencie of the Perſons, before his, or their Eſtates be ſequeſtred and taken away.

And be it further Ordained by the Lords and Commons, That the ſaid Sir *William Brereton* ſhall have Power and Authority and is hereby required to Adminiſter the Covenant (appointed to be taken by the three Kingdomes of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*) to all Perſons within the ſaid County of *Cheſter*, and the County of the City of *Cheſter*, who ought to take the ſame (by the late Ordinance and Inſtructions for that purpoſe) and have not already taken it.

And be it further Ordained by the ſaid Lords and Commons, that the ſaid Sir *William Brereton*, together with the Deputy-Lieutenants and Committees, as aforeſaid, ſhall have Power to call before them all Miniſters and Schoolemaſters within the County of *Cheſter*, and the

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County of the City of *Cheſter*, that are ſcandalous in their lives, or ill-affected to the Parliament, or Fomenters of this unnaturall Warre, or ſhall wilfully refuſe obedience to the Ordinances of Parliament, or ſhall have deſerted their ordinary place of reſidence, not being imployed in the Service of the King and Parliament; and they ſhall have Power to ſend for any Witneſſes, and examine any Complaint or Teſtimony againſt them, upon Oaths of ſuch Perſons as ſhall and may be produced to give Evidence againſt them; and upon ſuch Proofs of the aforeſaid Crimes, the ſaid Sir *William Brereton*, together with the Deputy-Lieutenants and Commiſſtees aforeſaid, have hereby Power to remove and eject all ſuch ſcandalous Miniſters and Schoolemaſters, and in their places to nominate and appoint ſuch learned, able, godly, and fit Perſons, as they (with the advice and conſent of three, or more, godly and learned Divines of the ſaid County of *Cheſter*, which they ſhall call unto them for that purpoſe) ſhall think fit; and ſhall cauſe all ſuch Miniſters and Schoolemaſters, ſo nominated, appointed, and placed, to be put into poſſeſſion of the ſaid Churches and Schools, who ſhall and may reſpectively take, receive, and perceive to their own uſes, the Profits and Revenues belonging to the ſaid ſeverall Churches and Places, in as large and ample manner, as the ſeverall Miniſters and Perſons in the ſaid ſeverall places have formerly uſed to do.

FINIS.

Be Wise as Serpents, Innocent as Doves.

THE SCOTISH DOVE,

Sent out, and Returning;

Bringing Intelligence from the Armies, and makes some Relations of other observable Passages of both Kingdoms, for Information and Instruction.

From Friday the 22. of March, to Fryday the 29. 1644

THis week affords no great matter of action, the greatest is our losse. I gave you last week the relation of our hopes of gaining *Newark*, and withall implyed my fears, because of mens confidence; for I have observed, that when we have been most confident in our own strength, wee have usually received a blow from Gods hand: but when wee have been diffident in our selves, and

fought God earnestly, God hath done great things for us, even by most contemptible means. Our confidence for *Newark* is at this time frustrate, and our certainty in hopes is become a certainty in losse: our men were base, and backward to fight, they rather desired the pillage in the town, then victory against the Enemy; the honestest of the souldiers saved their Arms, and our losse was not so great as the dishonour; yet I confesse the losse was great, wee lost 3000. armes, most of our Ensignes, and 19. pieces of Ordnance, our Waggons and baggage, Sir *John Meldrum* was brave and valiant like himself: my sorrow is, that he so worthy, was so unworthily seconded, but I will be silent, because God hath done it, and say with JOB, *Shall wee receive good at the hands of God, and shall we not receive evill*, our sins and our impenitencie still provoke God, that his hand is stretched out still, our sins are a burthen to the Lord our God, with whom we have covenanted for Reformation, but are not yet reformed; so that *he is pressed by our sins, as a Cart is pressed that is full of sheaves*, (as he speaketh by his Prophet) *therefore the strong shall not strengthen his force: neither shall the mighty deliver himself*: There is an accursed thing in the camp, in the city, in the countrey, and in all the Kingdom: There is deity of executing judgement against Delinquents, except *Phineas* rise up and do justice, the plague will not be stayed.

Cowards and perfidious men must be punished, and great men, nor commanders must not be wincked at, who are ambitious, and stand upon nicities and points of honour, for self-ends: It is Gods work we have in hand, and God will have the honour of it, not man; let that man be made an example of shame, who in seeking any private end, will neglect the publike good, if we honour God, God will honour us; he that truly seeks the publike good, cannot lose his share in the benefit; but if we tender not others good as our own, or pursue not the cause in hand, as it is the Cause of God, to assist one another against Gods enemies and the Kingdomes, it will fair no better with us then with those selfe-willed *Israelites*, who inconsiderately went to fight against the *Amalekites*, and fell by the *Amalekites* Sword. The cruelty of our enemies at this day is (as their wickednesse) very great: as their horrible out-rages have made them hatefull, so they resolve most cruelly to destroy, that they may not be destroyed, who cannot stand but by the Kingdomes fall; and therefore will establish tyrannie as a law, or die lawlesly in a tyranous war against law, what cannot be gained by Hierarchie, they mean to compasse by force.

It

It is the saying of a Wise *English* man: (a great polititian, a souldier, a scoller, and a Courtier) that *the best things, once corrupted become the worst; and the most hurtfull vice springeth from the Noblest roote: from the depraved affection in ruling, arise two great mischiefes, disputable whether is the worst:* viz. *whether all things, or nothing should be lawfull: a dull spirit,* (saith he) *overladen by fortune, with power of which it is not capable, occasioneth the one; the other proceedeth from a contrary distemper, whose vehemency the bounds of treason cannot limit, and under either of these extreames, no country is able to subsist.*

But the defective dulnesse, which admits of any thing, will admit of the execution of Lawes, to which necessity will inforce the magistrate, whereas Tyrannie is more active, and pleaseth it selfe in the excesse, with a false colour of justice: of the first quality there are not frequently found, though such natures are every where: but they are not troubled in seeking Empire, &c. if by some errour of forture it incounter there withall, they have some friend, or Wife to supply the defect, which cruelty doth also help to shadow.

But Tyranny is bold, and would be reputed honouble for it is a fortunate mischiefe, as long as it can subsist: unmaking, slaying, and destroying millions; and therefore he calleth Tyranny by the name of *veritie*, which *Aristotle* calleth worse then any vice, &c.

In another place the same Author tells us *that a tyrannicall city, (or Country) persecuted by her owne mercenaries with a deadly warre is a common thing, as being upheld by mercenarie Forces; and it is common that mercenaries are false, and as Common that all warre made against Tyrants should be full of hate, and cruelty: and we seldome heare that ever the ruine of any Tyrannie is procured or sought, by those who were hired to maintaine the power of it; and no war ever prosecuted with so much inexpiable hatred as this warre,* (he speakes of the *Carthagenians* warre, I speake of the warres of great *Britaine*) now in hand. He defines Tyrannie thus, it is (saith he) *a violent forme of Government, not respecting the good of the Subiect, but onely the pleasure of the Commander.* I apply nothing, let the judicious reader make his owne applications: but I purposely relate this Authors words, because he was knowne to our archest enemies to be no round-head, (as they are pleased to stile all that thus argue) nor was he partiall to these times, nor infected with the factions of the Spanish, or French, as now our mercinaries are: he was not pernicious to the State as those that came after him: dying, he left

them rules to direct them, who are Courtiers now as he was then, but not ſo honeſt: they have moſt unworthily revolted from honeſty, and baſely flattered our Soveraign, who they have treacherouſly drawn to countenance their baſe tyrannicall cruelties, ſhrowding themſelves and their lawleſſe ſavage acts, under his Majeſties Authority: of whom I may as judicious *Seneca* once ſaid of young *Nero*, (till he was over-ſwayed by evill Councell) *Thou haſt* (ſaith he) *exempted thy City from all bloody Maſſacrees, and through the whole world* (till ſeduced) *had not ſhed one drop of mans blood: clemency not onely makes men more honeſt, but more ſecure, and is not onely the Ornament, but the aſſured ſafety of Kingdomes: by which Princes have attained long life, &c. but the power of Tyrants is execrable and ſhort.* Therefore *Seneca* ſaid well, *that he abuſeth himſelfe, that ſuppoſeth a King is ſecure in that place where there is not any but that are afraid of him: Clemency will ſecure a King in the open field:* Seneca *of Clemencie*, l. 1. c. 19. *his onely impregnable fortreſſe is the Love of his Subjects*; whereas violent rule againſt Lawes (as *Sharron* ſpeakes) is the cauſe of *Inſurrection of the people againſt the Prince*; becauſe of Tyranny, to drive him away and pluck him from his Throne. *A Tyrant* (ſaith Sir W. R.) *and a King in appearance have one and the ſame dignity; the difference is that Tyrants take pleaſure in their Tyrannie, but Kings doe juſtice upon cauſe, and neceſſity.*

Whence is it then that three Kingdomes are now at once oppreſſed without juſtice? the Subjects robbed, ſpoyled, plundred, wounded, killed, maſſacred, and buried alive: their houſes, goods, corne, Villages and Townes, burnt with fire? Is it that there is an Anarcy or a uſurpation by Tyranny? not an Anarchy; for we have a King, but a Tyrany, for our King is ſeduced and held from us, he is betrayed by his ſervants and Captaines, who ſooth him at *Oxford*, but like *Zimri*, ſeeke his life and kingdomes. Kings are but men; *Solomon* who was the wiſeſt of Kings, was miſled by a woman: But I ſhall ſpare to ſpeake of Kings, I do feare God, and will ever honour the King, but abhor thoſe who withhold him, and miſ-guide him by their wicked counſells; my prayer is that I may ſee him with his Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, which will be his onely ſafety and his peoples joy, of which I deſpaire not, for his heart is in the hands of God, and God is able to make him willing, and bring him from his flattering enemies, whom his Parliament and good Subjects are bound to reſiſt, as they love God, the King, and his good people. Our Dove in a relation not long ſince, ſhewed you the

judge-

ment, and words of reverend *Calvin*, concerning Parliaments; *if they* (saith he) *shall winke at Kings*, (much lesse Subjects) *wilfully treading down the Commonalty, it is in them a wicked breach of faith because they deceitfully betray the liberty of the people, whereof they know themselves to be appointed Protectors by the Ordinance of God.* If so, then without controversie we who are the people and Commons are bound to assist and obey the Parliament, to defend their Authority and our rights as unseparable, their Authority being the onely support of our Rights, our Lawes, and Religion; against Tyrants, and Tyrannicall Government. The Authority ordained to suppresse, and to bring to condigne punishment all mercenaries, whether called honourable or base, whether strangers or Natives, who have defended tyrannous courses, and cruelly spoyled his Majesties good subjects, having lawlesse licence; permitting them to rob, steale, ravish, murder, and satisfie their inhumane appetites; drawing all into one extreame of guilt, by acts so haynous as may render all alike hatefull to all good men, to the end they may never return to the obedience of the Law; what else hath held them so long in the action of Tyrannous wayes: often hath the Parliament invited all, by faire Propositions, till they were rejected, and by late Declarations of mercy and favour to all that will accept it: and for his Majestie, they have ever offered all security of safety and happinesse, that three Kingdomes can afford, with their best labours and faithfull councells, let men and Angels witnesse for the Parliament what they could have done more, or wherein they have beene wanting of duty: if in any thing to God, by too much pitty to the Traytors, which God hath delivered into their hands, execution of Justice hath ever beene a procures of blessings. Let us that are the commonalty pray, and the Parliament and Armies faithfully act, and undoubtedly a blessing will follow, and we shall see a happie end of these bloody destracted warres.

Aulicus (it may be) will lye in two sheetes this weeke, and so may a Rogue under a hedge, I shall expect a Saturday long story, else hee'l begin it at his Sunday Sacrifice. *Aulicus*, the Dove can read, if she finde any thing written by thee, worth the observing, she will give thee her censure, but she of late hath neither sound truth nor wit written by thee. *Aulicus*, the Dove once told thee thy pedegree, but she knowes thou art one of Dulmans children, therefore Ile send it thee in Print, that thou maist claime thy place and title, according to thy iniquity: thou art a spaune of

Orian

Orian who had three fathers, *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Mercurie*; and thou wast pist out at *Oxford*, ingendred there a vermine, to practise the vice of lying and slaundring, thy originall was nothing, thy end will be worse.

From *Gloceſter* we have Intelligence that they are there in very good condition, and have no conſiderable enemie neere them; they goe out into the Country 15. miles ſecurely, almoſt as far as Prince *Maurice* his Grave, and yet I doe not heare for certaine that he is riſen, they'le tread over him ſhortly, but that will hardly waken him out of his dead ſleepe.

From the other Garriſons Weſt-ward we heare nothing but good. *Hopton* and his Mercenary confederates have ſwept the Weſt parts, to make a mighty Army: as if they intended to purſue Gods people like *Pharaoh*, to the red Sea, or rather make the Seas red with blood, which the Land refuſeth to drinke from the Saints bodies. *Inchiquine* with his Iriſh: Generall *Forth* foaming with his Welſh; and the reſt of the rabble of outlandiſh *Mores*, *French*, *Walloones*, *&c.* *Gabell* and *Amalake*, *Ammon* and the *Philiſtimes*, all are gathered together, but all may periſh at once, as *Siſera* and *Jaban*, *at the brooke Kiſon*: the cauſe is one, and the ſame God liveth for ever, he hath appointed them a time to puniſh, and a day to be puniſhed and wholy deſtroyed: Their Idols, their Images, Croſſes, Crucifixes, Ave-Maries, Pater-Noſters; nor all other Maſſ-Sacrifices, cannot ſave them, but ſhall periſh with them to *Rome* it ſelfe.

Sir *William Waller*, Sir *William Belfore*, and Major *Browne*, are with a conſiderable ſtrength within a little diſtance of the Multitude of their enemies, as ready to receive them, as the enemie to give the charge. The head quarter of the enemie is at *Wincheſter*, and upon the Douns 4. miles from *Wincheſter*; *Hopton* hath raiſed ſome Workes, and a great part of his Army lye in the field. Sir *William Wallers*, *&c.* are about *Peterfield*, and *Traford*, ſome parts of their Army have faced each other, and ſome skirmiſh hath been with ſome of *Hoptons* Horſe, who were beaten by Sir *William Belfore*, but they were experienced runners and ſo ſaved themſelves, except ſome few.

We may expect great things will be done in thoſe parts ſhortly, but not ſo ſoon as was expected, Sir *W. Waller* being commanded to forbear his approach neerer the enemy for a while, for good reaſons known to the Councel of State: I will not be confident in man, but will

will wait Gods time; ſince I am, it is his own Cauſe, and he will defend it, though he juſtly have ſcourged us, hee will break the power of our enemies to pieces.

We have certain intelligence, that the E. of *Mancheſter* is marcht away from *Cambridge* toward *Newark*, Sir *Thom. Fairfax* and Sir *John Gell* is on the one ſide to joyn with him: on the other ſide is the Earl of *Denbigh*, Col. *Bear*, and the horſe ſent from *Warwick*, *Coventry*, and *Northampton*; I know no reaſon to doubt, but they will (if God pleaſe) make good our *Newarke* loſſe, and turn it upon the inſulting enemy, the event of Battels are only of God, to him I look.

Shameleſſe *Aulicus*, that *Oxford* vermin, to deceive the people, tels them, *that the* Scots *Army came over Tine in a dark night*, (as if they could not have paſſed but through darkneſſe) it ſeems it was but the Egyptian darkneſſe that overſpred *Newcaſtles* army, but the *Scots* were in *Goſhen*, and had light enough, *Newcaſtle* could but ſee their hinder parts, (*Aulicus calls it their rear*) for he durſt not look them in the face, but over the river, it may be he came behinde to gather up ſome of their excrements, and that was it the vermin (at *Oxford*) calls their baggage. Yet the Baggage *Aulicus* tels us, *that* Newcaſtle *faced the* Scots, *neer* Lampton *to force them to fight, and drove them neer* Ufferton *in* Sunderland, *where he begirt them in a corner*, I do aſſure you, *Newcaſtle*, like *Aulicus*, has a face of braſſe, but he is not willing to venture it in a battell againſt the *Scots*, he had rather burne *Lampton* and *Ufferton*, and all the reſt of thoſe towns, that hee may get light to ſee to run away. And for girding them up in a corner, he cannot do it, without the L. *Haſtings* come with his ſtolne pack-horſe ſurſingles, nor will hee incounter them, except they be all carriers.

Aulicus tels us, *that Generall* Lieſley *haſtily perſwaded the* Scots *over Tine on purpoſe to keep them from running back into* Scotland, but *Aulicus* will finde they'l not look toward *Scotland*, till they have made *Newcaſtle* run to *Oxford*, nor then till they ſee *Aulicus* and his abetters receive their reward, ſuch as belongs to Traytors, and miſleaders of Kings. *Aulicus* at one mouthfull, *calls all* Scotland *rebels*, but *Aulicus*, we know *Oxford* wind drives Wind-mils and Weathercocks; as the wind ſits there, ſo the Weathercocks ſtands: The *Scots* are rebels, and good Subjects, and then rebels again (at *Oxford*) all in one day.

Aulicus, I ſend this *Dove* to thee at *Oxford*, to ſhew thee that I can read, and riddle too, but there are two *Britannicus's* that anſwer thee; I'll leave thee to their mercy, for either of them would make a foole

a fool of thee, if it were possible, but they cannot be said to make that which was made before.

The mercenary rebels in or about *Newark*, have intercepted *Hull* post this week, by which we are prevented of many letters from thence, and the intelligence from those parts. From *Lincolnshire* we have no certain notice of their present condition, the reports are not only various, but contrary, and I believe neither; therefore I will relate none till better satisfied.

There is a *Declaration* published at *Oxford*, and is already sent into those parts of the Kingdome where the mercenaries possesse, and into the City of *London*, to their mercenary favourites, in accusation of the Parliament, to deceive the people: and there is a *Declaration* coming out by both Houses of Parliament, and the Committee for the kingdome of *Scotland*, to undeceive the people, which will lay open the plain and very truth; if men will be fooled let them be branded with a fools marke. The Parliament have made truths clearly known long agone, and the actions of the *Oxford* mercenary revolters have confirmed all by actions, and yet men will be stupid sordid people.

From the *Scots* Army there hath been no expresse from themselves, either to the Houses, or to the Committee; we conceive the packet (if any were sent) is miscarried; but this present *Thursday*, by letters from *Yarmouth*, we have intelligence, (for by sea such relation is come thither) that the *Scots* have very strongly fortified *Sunderland*, and divers small Ships are laden away with coals: also that they have taken *Gateshead-hil* which commands the town of *Newcastle* within Musket-shot, and have taken 1500. horse, and divers foot of *Newcastles* army. This is written from *Yarmouth*, and I believe in substance it is true; it may be the number may differ from after relations, more or lesse; yet this I commend to your consideration, as a recompence to our losse at *Newark*.

And from *Wales* we have intelligence, that Captain *Swanley* hath taken a good Ship, carrying about 29. or 26. peeces of Ordinance, and hee is now landed in *Pembrokeshire*, and joyning with the wel-affected in that county (that stood for the Liberties of the Subject) hath secured the whole county; so that they are at this time 4000. strong; and this is confirmed by a letter, written from a mercenary Royallist of good estate, who cryes out in his letter to his friend, here in *London*, that hur is undone, and that all *Wales* will be lost from hur King, &c.

To make any relation of the Arch-Bishops progresse to the new world, I hold it needlesse, but referre you to the Diurnall for satisfaction.

Printed according to Order for *L. C.*

March 29. 23 Numb. 14

OCCURRENCES

Of Certain Speciall and Remarkable Passages in PARLIAMENT, and the affaires of the Kingdome.

Published according to Order, for fuller satisfaction

Containing these particulars.

1 *A great victory obtained by the Scots at Gateshead, the enemies strongest Garrison at Newcastle being a great hill that lyes before the Town, where the Scots tooke the Garrison, and the Suburbs on this side Tine, consisting of 400 Families.*

- 1 Collonel,
- 3 Captains,
- 300 Prisoners,
- 5 Pieces of Ordnance.
- 200 Armes,
- many slain.

2 *The taking of Ireton Castle by the Parliaments Forces, and how they have there also taken*

- 4 Brasse pieces
- 200 Armes
- much powder
- other Ammunition,
- 1 Lieutenant Collonel.
- 1 Captain
- 100 Souldiers prisoners
- besides those were slain.

3 *His Majesties Commission for a new Admirall intercepted.*

4 *A true relation of the proceedings about Newarke, since the raising of the siege: and what condition our forces are in for the resiege thereof, & how far they have proceeded therein.*

5 *Concerning that report of Gainsborough and Lincolne.*

6 *The proceedings of Sir Wil. Waller and his Forces, and the reason of his not falling upon Hopton yet.*

7 *How Captain Swanly tooke neere Milford Haven*

- 20 Peeces of Ordnance,
- 1000 Armes,
- 150 Barrels of powder.
- and other Ammunition.

8 *Concerning severall ships that are taken, laden with Sea-cole, and to be brought to London.*

9 *How the Pembrooke men have routed the Earl of Carbery, and are still pursuing him into Mountgomery shire, and how he sent to the Arch Bishop of Yorke for aid.*

10 *Some Occurrences from Oxford, and other parts of the Kingdome.*

London, Printed for *Andrew Coe, Anno Dom.* 1644.

From Friday the 22 March, to Friday the 29 of March.

OCCURRENCES

Of the moſt Remarkable Paſſages of Parliament, and the affairs of the Kingdome, for fuller ſatisfaction.

THe laſt weeke I told you that Prince *Rupert* was marched towards Newarke, and what an engagement was laid upon him by a Letter from the Queen to performe that worke, I told you alſo how naked our Forces lay in the ſiege, and of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his advance towards Yorkeſhire, and within two or three dayes after newes came of that loſſe our Forces received there, by which you may ſee how plainly I dealt with the Kingdome therein. And yet had Prince *Rupert* kept faith with us, they had not had much cauſe to boaſt, more then giving the Towne ſome preſent reliefe, though not durable, but more of that by and by.

The gallant Pembrooke men have enlarged their Quarters, and falne upon the Earl of *Carberies* Popiſh Armie, that hath ſo long anoyed them, kild and tooke priſoners many of them, amongſt which were divers Officers and others of quality, the Earl himſelf being hardly eſcaped, tooke alſo much Armes and other Ammunition, and ſome of their Ordnance, and carried their booty to Pembrooke.

The enemie at Dorcheſter uſe great cruelty to the Townſmen, who

who are totally (the moſt of them) deprived of their traid and commerce, and ſome of Sir *John Penningtons* weather beaten ſhips are there a trimming up for the ſervice of the enemie.

There preached on Wedneſday laſt before the Parliament at Margarets Weſtminſter, Maſter *Galeaſpe* in the forenoon, and his Text was, *Ezekel* 43. 10,11. And Mr. *Bond* in the afternoon on *Iſa.* 45.15. And at the great Cathedrall, where was wont to be heard the roaring of the Organs, and the Cathedrall catches of *Morley*, and I know not who, now is ſet up an Orthodox preaching Miniſtry, and this laſt weeke the golden Crucifixes that were ſet up over the place where the Altar was made, and the reſt of that Popiſh row of Idolatous pictures were all broken down, the wall plaiſtered up in a comely deaſent manner. And truly it doth my heart good to ſee what a large congregation is there every morning ſo early to heare the Sermon with the Parliament, before they goe to ſit in the houſes, and now it comes ſo ſeaſonable in my way, I thinke it not amiſſe to deſire you that are of the Trained Bonds to come ſooner in a morning to the Parliament. I confeſſe that ſince I laſt told you of it, it is much mended, and truly it is well done of you, yet the Parliament are there, ſtill a great while every morning before you come, notwithſtanding, they doe conſtantly heare a Sermon, every morning at the Church before they ſit. I deſire you that are of the Trained band to take this into your conſideration.

By a Letter from Sir *Wil. Wallers* Armie. that came to his Excellencie on Wedneſday laſt, it was certified that on Munday laſt Si. *William* drew up his Quarters verie cloſe to *Hopton*, and therefore it is very probable hee hath (by this time) given him an Alarme.

On Wedneſday laſt, after the Faſt Sermons were ended, Maſter *Alphord* a member of the Houſe of Commons, went into the Houſe and tooke the Covenant, and on Saterday laſt, which I ſhould ſooner have given you notice of, there was an order iſſued out for thoſe that were come in by the Declaration, as namely, the Earl of *Thenet*, two Knights, and others to bee conſidered of.

by a Committee of the Houſe of Commons, and a report made to the houſe, which Committee ſate that day in the Court of Wards, to conſider of the ſetling of their Eſtates, according to the ſaid Declaration.

On Munday laſt the Ordinance paſſed the Lords houſe, for the recruting of his Excellencies Armie, and this let me ſay for his Excellencies honour to encourage thoſe that are able to ſerve his Excellencie: who by the teſtimonies of all his officers and ſouldiers in generall: is ſo valiant, ſo loving, ſo carefull, and ſo worthy a Generall; that thoſe who do alreadie ſerve his Excellency, proteſt that they had rather ſerve him then any ſervice whatſoever: proteſting to their laſt drop of bloud to live and die with him.

Sir *Thomas Fairfax* hearing of the accident at Newarke, is returned from his intended deſigne towards Yorkeſhire, and hath joyned Collonell *Mitton* to him, as alſo Sir *John Gell* and ſome of his Forces from Derbiſhire, he was at Northhampton on Saturday laſt, and expects the Earl of Manchesters Forces to march up on this ſide, to the end that they make Prince *Rupert* to pay dear for this faithleſſe breach of Articles of agreement; before he returne.

It ſeemes the Earl of Malborough, that his cowardiſe is much taken notice of at Court, for there is a new Commiſſion intercepted directed to *Van Hadſdonk*.

CAROLVS REX.

Charles by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland King, &c.

To our truſty and well beloved John Hadſdonk, *greeting.*

WHereas beſides our fleete already ſet forth, wee have held it very convenient and neceſſary for our ſervice to arme or cauſe to be armed and ſet forth to Sea, as many more ſhips and veſſels of war as poſſibly we can, for the effectuall ſtoping of the Rebels commerce and ſupply by Sea, which is one of the moſt probableſt means to put a ſpeedy end to the Rebellion in this Kingdome.

Wee

We doe therefore by theſe preſents, authoriſe and appoint you to be Admirall, and chiefe commander of a fleet, conſiſting of as many able ſhips, and frigats of war, fitted and provided with Ordnance, Ammunition, Armes and victuall, and all other neceſſaries as you and others that ſhall aſſociate with you, from time to time can conveniently ſet forth to Sea: Authoriſing and commanding you to doe and cauſe to be done to the Rebels and their adherents, all poſſible dammmage and hoſtility, in their commerce and navigation as poſſibly you can.

All poſsible dammage and hoſtility, I warrant you the Cavaliers will ſwear *God damme*, this is for the liberty of the Subject.

Sharpers Ship which went to relieve Newcaſtle with victuall, and brought from thence coals for the Enemy is taken, and his ſhip is brought in the Channell for London, and himſelfe like to anſwer for the ſame.

Edward Dobſon, commonly knowne by the name of Codpiſſe *Ned*, ſomtimes a Bookſeller without Newgate; was yeſterday brought to Towne guarded with three luſtie ſtout men, which was no more then need required, for being formerly brought to the Houſe for abuſing the Parliament by ſcandalous Pamphlets, *Called the ſenſe of the Houſe*, and other crimes; he made an eſcape and fled to Oxford, and there hath done much miſchief: but being taken lately by our forces of Northampton: is now ſent up to London, to receive his triall.

Sir *W. Waller* lies very cloſe to *Hopton*, but that hee falls not on it is not becauſe his ſpirit is leſſe then his Commiſſion but becauſe an engagement lies upon him; not to be too forward till he be better provided of ſeconds: which courſe had it been taken for our ſiegers at Newark: that loſſe had not beene, and yet to ſpeak truly, it coſt the Enemy deare enough to carry away thoſe 250 Armes they had got of ours (for by ſeverall Meſſengers yeſterday, it is certified, they have no more) for there was ſlain of the Enemies five for one of ours: and I doubt not but in few dayes you will heare that Newarke is in a greater ſtrait (yet, and that Prince *Rupart* to) then they were before.

Whereas

Whereas it is reported that Plimmouth is beſieged by the enemie and in great diſtreſſe, it is other ways certified from thence that they are in a far better condition then is reported, and that they are in a verie good poſture, and enlarge their quarters eight, ten, and twentie miles about them, they doe daily fetch in proviſion at their own pleaſure, no enemie lying their in the field to diſturbe them: It is alſo certified that the two hundred which deſerted the enemie have all taken the Covenant, and are joined to our forces, proteſting to live and die in the ſervice of the Parliament.

It was yeſterday certified, that Captain *Swanly* having ſtrengthened Milford Haven, and diſcovered a ſhip of the Enemies, which road within ſight of him, put forth after it; and after a ſhort fight took it: the ſaid ſhip being above 100 Tun; in which ſhip hee tooke good ſtore of Ammunition which was going to Briſtoll: that will do our forces good ſervice in thoſe parts. In the ſaid ſhip he took the Captain whoſe name I have forgot; the Maſter and all the reſt of the Sailours, and ſome of them proteſting that they were forced upon this ſervice, deſired to take the Covenant, which was accordingly tendred to them, & they took it: there were alſo taken in the ſaid ſhip 20 peeces of Ordnance: above 1000 Armes, 150 barrels of Gunpowder: beſide other good purchaſe.

Since which hee hath alſo taken ſome ſhips that were laden with Sea-coal, which ſhips he hath deſigned for London, to help towards the relieving of the Citie with Coals.

It is alſo further certified that the Pembrooke men are ſtill in purſuit of the enemie: and have driven the Earle of *Carbery* into Mountgomery ſhire, who as it is reported hath ſent for the Arch biſhop of York and his brother Prelats now reſiding in Wales: to ſend him a ſpeedy ſupply, leſt he loſe all; for it ſeems his valiant Welſhmen that vapoured ſo much, now they ſee they muſt fight in good earneſt, begin to run away.

There is a report that our forces have left Gainsborough, but of that I hear no certaintie, but if they have, no doubt, it was in hopes

hopes to have never occaſion to be at that charges with it, the Enemie being out of hopes of poſſeſſing it againe: but that wee have had ſuch a loſſe as is reported at Lincolne: Let the Relater prove his one Relation for my part, I know not of it.

The Earl of *Mancheſter* marched from Cambridge, on Saturday laſt, with above 3000 horſe and foot, and Collonell *Cromwell* heare is gone towards him with 1500 horſe: ſo that, hee is at leaſt 5000 ſtrong: ſince which I heare hee hath gathered up more of his one forces, and is marching towards Newark, God proſper him, for I hear he increaſeth a pace to a gallant Army.

On Tueſday laſt the Ordnance for the weekly meale paſſed both Houſes; which is thus: every one is to contribute weekly the value of one meal towards the maintenance of the new Auxiliaries now raiſing within the Line of Communication about the Citie of London; which order being Printed, I ſhall ſay no more of it only thus much; that I would deſire every one that ſhall any ways think it to be an hard impoſition, to conſider the great work that is now in hand, and how all our forces are now a ſetling in ſeveral heads to make as ſhort a work of it as may be, and therefore it concerns our ſelves to looke to our ſelves, and prepare the beſt ſtrength we can for the guard and protection of the Citie, leſt whilſt all our forces are abroad active in other places, the enemy approach hither, and find us unprepared, and to part with one meals meate, the value of it: truly in ſo great a work: mee thinks none ſhould grudge at it; ſeeing that it is for Gods glorie: and for the good of the Church and State; the Church is diſtracted, the Land lies a bleeding: and we muſt part with Religion, Laws, Liberty; and all that wee have if wee doe not defend our ſelves, and ſhall we think much to part with one meals meat in a week towards ſo great a work.

From Oxford it is reported that Sir *Charles Vavaſour*, is without all doubt or queſtion dead and buried, and ſo are Sir *Thomas Aſtons* hopes of advance; though formerly ſo great a Favourite; for ſince hee was by the valiant Sir *Wil. Brereton* ſo ſhamefully beaten, he could never receive more Court favour.

The

The Queen grows nigh the time of her deliverie, but that she will remove from Oxford to hazard those frights and dangers, she must expose herself to, by removing either to Bristoll or Exceter. I do not believe it.

Sir *Wil. Brewerton* that ever renowmed Champion is now shortly to returne, to prevent the accesse of the Irish forces in those parts; his Ordnance was passed Tuesday last: God be his good speed.

Yesterday it was certified by Letters, that our forces have taken Ireton Castle; and there they have surprised four brasse peeces: and two hundred arms: besides some powder and other artillery: and have taken one Lievtenant Colonel, one Captain, and 100 and odde souldiers, and other Officers: and placed there a Garison for the Parliament.

The Scots Occurrences.

BY Letters from his Excellencie, Col. *Lesleys* Army yesterday brought to Tnwne, it is certified, that a partie of the Scots which are come over Tine, faced the enemie at Gatehead which is a great Hill on the South of Tine the river Tine running between Newcastle and Gatehead; i being a great hill on which the Enemy had a strong Garison, the Scots being discovered, they prepared what strength they could to oppose them, but the Scots being resolved not to be daunted: fell on and began to storm, and after some houres fight gained a breach in their works; and in brief took the said works, and are now possessors of the said Hill: and of the Garisons from which they can command the Town at their pleasure, and if they please batter it down upon the Enemy.

A list of what was there taken.

1 Colonell. 3 Captaines. 300 Prisoners. 5 peeces of Ordnance. 200 Arms, besides those that were slain. They have also gained the Suburbs adjoyning to the said hill consisting of 400r 500 families.

Published according to Order.

The true Informer:

Continuing a collection of the most speciall and observable Passages which have been informed from severall parts of his Majesties DOMINIONS.

From Saturday March 23. *to Saturday* March 30. 1644.

I. *A Letter from* M. Bowles *Minister to to the English Commissioners, dated from Generall* Lesley's *Quarters March* 25. *last, of severall successefull proceedings of the Scots Army:* viz.

Taking the Fort over against Tinmouth Castle.
7. *Peeces of great Canon.*
7. *Barrels of Gun-powder.*
A great deale of Match, Bullet, & other ammunition.
Also their taking 7. *ships, six whereof were laden with coales and salt, and the other with lead and cloath, to the value of eight thousand pound, going for the Oxford Cavaliers.*

II. *A Relation from Sir* William Wallers *Army, of the London-Regiments taking of West-meane from* Hoptons *Forces, and of three souldiers executed by Martiall Law for severall offences.*

III. *A punctuall and full Relation of the proceedings in the Triall of his little Grace of* Canterbury *on Thursday last.*

IV. *A relation of the Exchange of the L.* Lowthian *for Col.* Goring, *and the Scots Commissioners going to meet him.*

V. *A Relation out of Lincolnshire, of the true state and condition of those parts.*

VI. *A further Relation from the Scots Army, of Major* Bellandine *his entring Durham, and taking a complete Troupe of the Marquesse of* Newcastles *horse.*

London, printed for *T. Bates*, and *I. W. I.* 1643.

The true Informer:

CONTINUING

A Collection of the moſt ſpeciall and obſervable Paſſages which have beene informed this *Week from ſeverall Parts of His Majeſties Dominions.*

THE laſt Weeke our Informer preſented you with a Summarie or briefe view of the proceedings in the Triall of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* on Friday March 22. and it being his intention ſtill to continue the Relation of them till that buſineſſe ſhall be fully determined and concluded, he thought fit to begin this Week alſo with the proceedings in that Triall on Thurſday laſt March 28. The Priſoner being brought to the Barre of the Houſe of Peeres, M. *Maynard* declared, That the buſineſſe of that day was to offer evidence upon the fourth Article; That the ſaid Archbiſhop had taken unlawfull gifts and bribes of His Majeſties Subjects, and the other Article concerning his oppoſing and ſtopping the granting of His Majeſties Writs of Prohibition, when the ſame ought to have beene granted in the Eccleſiaſticall Courts, whereby Juſtice hath been delayed and hindred, and the Judges debarred from doing their duty.

The firſt thing that was inſiſted upon was M. *Huntleys* Caſe, there being ſome difference between him and his Archdeacon concerning the ſaid M. *Huntleys* preaching a Viſitation Sermon, and other matters, about which they were a long time in Suit in the Eccleſiaſticall Court. The Judges told him, he might bring a ſecond Action in another Court, whereupon he imployed one M. *Mereſield* an Attorney, to take out Proceſſe for him againſt Sir *Henry Martin* and other Commiſſioners:

ners: which the ſaid *Mereſield* doing according to his place, he was committed by the Archbiſhops meane, (though he was not concerned in the Cauſe) his little Grace telling him, *That he deſerved not onely to be laid by the heeles, but to loſe his eares.* And this produced an Order at the Court at White-Hall (by the Archbiſhops procurement) for obſtruction of Juſtice to all the Kings Subjects, Jan. 9. 1634. That in caſe it did concerne the Eccleſiaſticall Judges, no originall Writ or Proceſſe ſhould be granted out againſt them, without firſt acquainting the Lord Keeper with it. And accordingly an Order was ſent to M. *Pit* a Philizer, and others, not to make out any Writs in that nature, though they are bound by oath not to denie it to any man.

Huntley being fined and impriſoned, and his Action ſtopt by this means, he afterwards got an *Habeas Corpus* granted him, and came before the Court, but the power of the Archbiſhop was ſo great, that Judge *Richardſon* then upon the Bench ſwore, He durſt not doe him Juſtice. And afterwards when he came before his little Grace (then Biſhop of *London*) he demanded his Orders; *Huntley* deſiring to know his fault, his little Grace anſwered, *The fault I charge you with is, That you being a Clergie-man, dare ſeeke reliefe in the temporall Courts*, and afterwards degraded the ſaid *Huntley*. This was at large with many other circumſtances proved by

George Mereſield. | | *George Huntley.*
Henry Pit. | | *John Dillingham.*

In the next place Maſter *Maynard* inſiſted upon the charge concerning Prohibitions, and there he obſerved unto their Lordſhips. That when he was in Eccleſiaſticall juriſdiction, he was in a large field, but that he would indeavour to ſtreighten it as much as he could.

The chief particular of that charge were theſe, that in ſeverall cauſes, and upon ſeverall occaſions, that which was done by his little Grace concerning the Prohibitions, was this; ſometimes he laid by the heels, and puniſhed thoſe that brought the Prohibitions, ſometimes he roſe very high in threats and menaces in the open Court, declaring, *That he would breake the back of Prohibitions or they ſhould break his back*, ſometimes in an angry manner, he would ſay, *I will ſee what Judge dares grant Prohibitions againſt this Court.*

The firſt evidence which was produced was of Mr. *Prynne*, who in the fourth yeare of His Majeſties Raigne, being brought upon ſome occaſion into the High Commiſſion Court, at laſt obtaining a rule for

a Prohibition, he brought it into the Court, his little Grace being then Bishop of London, (the then Arch-Bishop of *Cant.* sitting at the same time in Pauls) and then in the said Court starts up when he saw Master *Prynne* bring the Prohibition into the Court, what (saies he) doth the King grant Prohibitions to interrupt the proceedings of this Court? Let's goe presently to the King, and make a Bolt or a Shaft of it, and immediately goes out of the Court with three or foure Bishops with him, who came again after a while, and at his returne spake as followes, *Master Prynne you deserve to be laid by the heels for serving the Court thus, and the next man that brings a Prohibition to the Court, I will lay him by the heels, though he be a better man then Mr. Prynne.*

Other Witnesses to prove this and other passages concerning the Prohibitions, were.

M. Burton, *George Coke*, *John Pocock*, *William Burton*, *Francis Nicols*, *M. Warde*, *M. Quaterman*, *M. Langleym*, *Rowland Tompson*, *M. Edwards*, *M. Burgesse.*

Also M. *Wheeler*, a worthy Member of the Honourable House of Commons, gave in evidence against the said Arch-Bishop, That in a Sermon preached some yeares since at White-Hall, amongst other passages he let fall these words: *That those that granted Prohibitions to the disturbance of the Church, the Lord would prohibite them the Kingdome of Heaven.*

Next part of his charge was touching guifts and unlawful Rewards taken in the way of Judicature, either as Judge in the High Commission Court, or otherwise.

The first is in Sir *Edward Gressams* case, which was thus, Sir *Edward Gressams* Son being a towardly and hopefull young Gentleman, one *Andrew Sanderson*, made Oath in the Ecclesiasticall Court, that he was with the consent of his Friends to be married to one *Margaret Whitney*, near to the said *Sanderson*, whereupon License was granted for the Marriage, and according to the custome of that Court, a Bond was taken, wherein one *Henry Gray* was bound with the said *Sanderson*, in a Bond of 200. pounds in case his Friends should not consent unto it, whereupon the Marriage was solemnized, to the grief of the Father, the young Man being not 20. yeares of Age, and the Woman crooked and deformed; of which the said Sir *Edward* complaining in the same Court, he had onely a small fine, but 50. pounds allowed him, upon

which

which he petitioned the Arch. Biſhop: That in regard ſo ſmall a conſideration was given for ſo great a wrong done, it would pleaſe his Lordſhip to give order: That the ſaid Bond (being forfeited) might be made over to the ſaid Sir *Edward*, to be put in ſuite.

To which Petition the Arch-Biſhop returned Anſwer ſubſcribed with his owne hand, in theſe words.

Novemb. 26. 1638.

I deſire Sir Iohn Lambe to conſider of this Petition, and give mee an account of it, however he knowes my wonted reſolution in ſuch buſineſſes as this, which is either not to give at all, or to reſerve one Moiety for the building of Pauls.

W. Cant.

The next evidences were concerning M. *Richard Golborne*, Gentleman, M. *Calvin Bruen*, M. *Peter Lee*, and others who were cenſured in the High Commiſſion Court at Yorke, onely for that out of novelty they went to ſee M. *Prynne* in his paſſage through *Cheſter* towards *Caernarvan*, after *Golborne* was fined 300. *l.* *Lee* 200. and *Bruen* 500. and at laſt according to the advice of Doctor *Merricke*, (to whom they gave at ſeverall times 35. pounds for acceſſe to his Lordſhip) two Butts of Sacke of 48. *l.* were preſented to the Arch-Biſhop, which were received and laid into his Sellar at Lambeth, and the Meſſengers that brought them rewarded. Other Teſtimonies, *W. Stone*, *Richard Orab.*

The next was Sir *Ralph Aſhleyes* caſe, who having a good Leaſe worth 1200. *l. per. An.* for three lives, the reverſion to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, who though he dwelt out of the Biſhops Juriſdiction, was brought into the High Commiſſion Court, where the conſequence of all came to be this: That he ſhould ſurrender up his Leaſe, and take another for 21. yeares, and pay a good Fine, and thereupon there was an end of that buſineſſe, till the beginning of this Parliament, when his little Grace ſent for the ſaid Sir *Ralph*, and gave him back his Leaſe, to prevent his complaining of it in Parliament.

There were alſo ſeverall proofes made of his receiving Bribes in Sir *Iames Price*, M. *Robert Grayes* caſes, and others, and of an Order made by him and other Commiſſioners: That all Fines for Adminiſtration ſhould be paid before hand, contrary to the cuſtome of the Eccleſiaſticall Cours, and that ſuch Fines ſhould be beſtowed upon the building of Pauls, by which meanes very great Summes of Money were unjuſtly and unduely exacted from the Subject.

Another

Another proofe there was, that in the conteſtation between the Aldermen and Bayliffes of Shrewesbury, for the preheminence, the honour was adjudged to the Aldermen, but the Arch-Biſhop had firſt received 50. pounds of them, beſides the Bayliffe of the Towne had before preſented him with a Butt of Greeke Wine, of 16. l. which was loſt, in regard the other had gone beyond it.

After the Examinations and Depoſitions of the Witneſſes taken, his little Grace had time given till 3. a clock in the afternoon, to bring in his Anſwer, which accordingly he did, and M. *Mainard* made ſeverall Replies thereunto.

1 His firſt plea, or rather challenge, was, That no man till that day had accuſed the Defendant for taking bribes, or any ſuch like crimes.

To this it was anſwered, That no man till this day durſt accuſe his Lordſhip of any ſuch crime, unleſſe he would have brought himſelfe into danger.

2 He ſaid, He had done nothing but what had been done by his Predeceſſors in Q. *Elizabeths*, K. *Iames's*, and the beginning of K. *Charles* his Reigne, in the ſame Court.

To this the Anſwer was; There was never any man carried himſelf ſo as his little Grace: 'tis true, men had been committed and bound over; but no man with that high hand as in his time. There's no man living can ſhew the like example.

3 His third challenge was, That no man could ſpeak any thing againſt him, that he intended by theſe things to ſubvert the Lawes.

To this it was anſwered, That if any man ſhould have offered to witneſſe of his intentions, he ſhould have forſworn himſelf. No man can ſweare the purpoſes of the heart as a witneſſe, which whether they were ſo or no, hath been already proved by his actions.

For his anſwers to the particular Charges, they are ſo inſufficient, and ſo quaſhed and ſilenced by the Replies, beſides the punctuall Depoſitions of the Witneſſes, that it would be both unneceſſary, and too tedious to repeat them. His further triall is deferred till Thurſday next.

By Letters from Sir *William Wallers* Army dated Tueſday March 26. it is adverti ſed, that on Munday before the London-Regiments marcht from a town called Traford, into a Heath appointed by Sir *William Waller* for the meeting of all his Foot, where appeared a conſiderable Army. In the field Juſtice was done upon three diſorderly ſouldiers. One was tied to a tree and ſhot to death for killing his Comrade:

rade: another (one of his own Regiment) was hang'd for running away from his Colours: a third hang'd for mutinie, preſenting his Muſket at his Captain, offering to reſcue an offendor: which examples it is hoped, will be of good uſe to the ſouldiers. The Londoners then quartered at a town called Weſt-meane (5. miles from Alsford, 6. miles from Biſhops-Walton, and 9. miles from Wincheſter, where the Enemy have Garriſons) in the forelorne of all the Army, and within five miles of the Enemy. At our Quarter-Maſters coming into the ſaid Towne (with a peece of a Troupe for their guard) a party of the Enemy being there, they fell together, and chaſed the Enemy, and took the Officer that commanded the party priſoner, with a good horſe under him, and good ſtore of money. That they expected to lie before Wincheſter that day or the day following, being in all an Army of about 10000. Horſe and Foot, all reſolute and couragious, who deſire nothing ſo much as to encounter with the Enemy.

After the skirmiſh the report was, that 600. of the Enemy was entring the town, which made the reſt retreat and Cap. *Robert Thompſon* gallantly commanded a forelorne guard of Musketiers, and entred the town with much honour. It was alſo further informed by thoſe Letters, that Sir *William Balfours* Forces had been in ſeverall skirmiſhes with the Enemy, and had taken divers of them ptiſoners.

Lincolnſhire.

The face of affaires in Lincolnſhire, ſince our laſt weeks Intelligence, are very much changed; God permitting us to ſuffer by the enemy for our many ſins, our lives being ſtill unreformed, and we ſtill ſinning after deliverances. Vpon the departure of our Forces from Newarke, they went part of them to Lincolne and Gainsborough, where, we heare, that having demoliſhed the Works, and taken ſuch proviſions as were neceſſary, they went to Boſton; ſince which time it is reported, the enemy have poſſeſſed themſelves of both the ſaid places, and of Crowland: yet we doubt not, but the Lord of Hoſts, as he hath caſt us down with one hand, will lift us up with the other, and deliver thoſe Counties from the rapines and plunderings of the enemie, by vouchſafing his aſſiſtance unto thoſe Forces who are now advancing into thoſe parts under the Command of the Earl of *Mancheſter*, who together with Col. *Cromwell* and their Forces are quartering about Huntington, Peterborough, S. Edes, and other parts. With theſe not only Sir *John Gell* and Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, are to joyn but alſo the E. of *Denbigh*, Colonell *Beare*, and the Horſe from Warwick, Coventry, & Northampton.

Scotch

The laſt certaine Intelligence from the Scots Army adminiſters much comfort unto all well-affected perſons, and will in part, if not wholly counter vaile our loſſe at Newarke, for by a Letter from M. *Bowlet*, Miniſter to the Engliſh Commiſſioners, to a worthy Member of the Houſe of Commons, dated from his Excellency General Leſleyes Quarters *March* 25. laſt, we are certainly advertiſed, that the Scotch Army had taken a very ſtrong and conſiderable Fort in the Shields upon Tyne, over againſt Tinn-outh-Caſtle, on the *South* ſide of the Town of Newcaſtle, which commands all the Ships either going in or comming out of the ſaid Town, after 3 ſeveral aſſaults made againſt it, with the loſſe of 9 men, and many wounded, Generall *Leſley* being himſelf preſent, during the onſets, there were taken in the Fort 7. Pieces of great Canons, 70. Muskets, 7. Barrels of Powder, with a great deal of Match, Bullet, and other Ammunition: that they had alſo taken 7. Ships, 6. whereof were laden with Coals and Salt, and the other a great Ship laden with Lead and Cloth, to the value of 8000. *l.* which were going from Newcaſtle for the uſe of the Oxford Cavaliers; Major *Ballandine* lately marched to Durham, and took a Troop of the enemies conſiſting of 48. Horſe. The two Armies according to their wonted poſture do face each other daily, the Scotch Army is ſtill ſucceſſefull, gets ground of them daily, killing many, & taking ſtore of Powder, Bullets & Match, & for their better relief have fortified Sunderland, their Horſes are in no good condition for want of Proviſion, the Enemy having ſpoiled the Country, but the Foot are very well accommodated. Sir *James Lumſdale* marched through Northumberland with 3000 men, which hath proved very uſeful for the *Scotch* Army, they ſhoot ſtill out of *Newcaſtle* with their Muskets and Canon againſt the Scots Leaguer, but do them no hurt: the Souldiers are very couragious, and deſire to fight with the Enemy.

Friday March 29. we are advertiſed, that the Scots Commiſſioners are gone to meet the L. *Lowthian*, who is exchanged for Col. *Goring*, & hath been long impriſoned in *Briſtol*, upon this occaſion, that having negotiated in France, and returning his Meſſage to his Majeſty at *Oxford*, upon delivery thereof was diſcharged with honour, and departing for his own Countrey, but upon ſuggeſtion of ſome Court-Paraſites, that he was to be Major-Generall of the Forces raiſed in Scotland to come into England, he was thereupon committed by His Majeſty.

This day divers ſhips laden with coals from Sunderland are come into the River of Thames, and many others are coming from thence, ſo that we may confidently expect the price of coals wilbe ſoon abated.

Publiſhed according to Order.

25

A DECLARATION OF THE LORDS AND COMMONS ASSEMBLED IN PARLIAMENT, WITH

The advice and concurrence of the Commissioners of *Scotland*, to publish their proceedings upon His Majesties Letter, touching a Treaty of Peace,

And to declare their resolutions and endeavours, to put an end to the unhappy distempers of the Kingdome, by a safe and well grounded Peace.

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23 Martii, 1643.

Ordered by the Commons in Parliament that Master Glynn *take care for the Printing of the Declaration concerning His Majesties Letter for a Treaty of Peace; together with an act of this present Parliament, and severall other Letters thereunto annexed.*

Hen. Elsynge Cler. Parl. Dom. Com.

LONDON,
Printed for *Edward Husbands*, *March* 30. 1644.

A Declaration of the Lords And Commons assembled in Parliament upon His Majesties Letter touching a Treaty of Peace.

WE the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, having notice given us by the Earle of Essex, Lord Generall of the Forces raised for the defence of the King and Parliament, of divers Letters sent unto him by the Earle of Forth; And of a writing in Parchment dated at Oxford, and subscribed by divers Lords and Gentlemen inclosed in one of those

Letters, and directed to the laid Earle of Essex; And likewise of an other Letter subscribed by his Majestie, and directed thus, To the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster; Which by the intimation given by the Earle of Forth in his Letter, wherein it was incloled, seemed to be intended for the two Houses of Parliament; all which we have caused to be herewith Printed, Did take the same into our serious Consideration, and the rather, because it carryed with it a rumour and pretence of a Treaty of Peace, which (being accompanied with truth) hath alwayes beene our earnest desires, and shall be our faithfull endeavours to effect. And having truly weighed the same, with the Circumstances thereof, doe find it so farre from any ayme or intention to Peace, that under the maske and title thereof; it appeares to bee an endevour to make our unhappy distractions and miseries more lasting, and the warre more irreconcilable.

For now what the authors and fomentors of our sad Calamities, from the beginning intended, they have procured to be in substance openly profe'ed; that is, the overthrow and destruction of this present Parliament, being (under God) the only Basis and support of our Religion and Liberty, and the very Bulwarke betweene us and tyrannie, Popery, and Superstition, which

are

are preſſing hard to over-run all the three Kingdomes; And becauſe they foreſaw the ſubverſion of this Parliament, would be of a hard diſgeſtion with the people, they would firſt preſent it under the diſguiſe of Peace; And therefore his Majeſtie in his application thereunto muſt by his Letter deny the freedome and continuance thereof, and make way to the ſetting up of an other at Oxford, in ſtyling that Convention by the name of the Lords and Commons of Parliament aſſembled at Oxford; being the ſame title which is therein given to the Parliament, and owning this proceeding towards peace to be by their advice; And then if upon theſe termes the two Houſes entertained this Overture, they have gained an acknowledgement from us of being no Parliament, or at leaſtwiſe a Tacite conſent of aſſembly at Oxford, to be in equall condition with us; But in caſe this addreſſe ſhould be rejected, then they would take the advantage thereby to perſwade the world, that they at Oxford did labour for Peace, and the Parliament was averſe to Peace. And ſo by this ſubtile inſinuation poyſon the affections of the people, to make the better way to ruine both Parliament and People.

And therefore that the ſincerity of our Actions, and the malice and ſubtilty of our Adverſaries may be the more clearely diſcovered, we thought

it our duty (with the advice and concurrence of the Commissioners of the Kingdome of *Scotland*) to publish our proceedings to the Kingdome, and to declare that it hath alwayes beene, and ever shall be our earnest and faithfull endevours to put an end to the troubles and dangerous distempers of this Kingdome by a happy and well grounded peace; So is it our settled resolution in discharge of the trust reposed in us, never to purchase it with the losse and ruine of our Religion and Liberty, having before our eyes the sad spectacle of that wofull Kingdome of Ireland, which after the expence of so much innocent blood in defence of the Protestant Religion is under the false glosse of Peace, subjected and brought under the power of Popery and superstition. And those bloody Rebels having effected their ends in that Kingdome, are brought over hither, to bring us under the same yoke, which upon this occasion we are necessited to publish. Being now tempted by that specious pretence to acknowledge the dissolution of this Parliament, which had wee assented to, would not only deprive us, and our posterity of the present, but of the hopes and capacitie of any future Parliament; And so at one blow cut in sunder the chiefe support and Piller of our Lawes and Liberties. For what better assurance can wee have, either of our present or future liberties then

then the Lawes and Statutes of the Kingdome, and what greater obligation can wee expect for the observance thereof then his Majesties Personall consent to that Law, and his sacred and solemne oath to observe the Lawes. And yet both these are not thought holds strong enough to secure usour own. Insomuch that not only this present Parliament convened according to Common Law, and usuage of the Realm, and enacted by a Law consented unto by himselfe to have conntinuace (and herewith printed) is attempted to be dissolved; But another endeavoured to be set up at Oxford. And if the King notwithstanding all these Obligations shall at his pleasure dissolve this, the Kingdome is not only deprived of the present, but made incapable of enjoying the benefit of any future Parliament, or Lawes, any longer then shall stand with the will and pleasure of the King, and consequently the fundamentalls of all our Lawes and Government are subverted.

And wee very well know this Designe to be long since contrived at Oxford, as appeareth by the Lord Digbies intercepted Letter, Dated the twentie seventh of December last (which wee have caused to bee herewith Printed) and of such expectation, that hee in that Letter expresseth it, to carry along with it probability of the

surest

surest and readiest way, &c. of any course that hath beene yet taken, knowing very well that the evills and miseries, himselfe and his wicked confederates have brought upon this distressed Kingdome can expect no safety but by attempting more.

And truly they could not thinke of any, more likely to involve themselves in the same guilt, then those Lords and Gentlemen now met at Oxford, who had already contrary to their duty, and the trust reposed in them by their Country, deserted the Parliament, and assisted a warre against it, and had there beene any doubt or suspition of their concurrence in that Designe, the very place of meeting, being the head Quarters of a Popish Army, whose cause they were there to consult of, would be a Rodde sharpe enough to secure them from that feare. And it doth sufficiently appeare that they have answered their expectation, for they have assumed the forme, and exercised the power of a Parliament: They sit in two distinct places, tearming the one the House of Peeres, and the other the House of Commons; And they have made the Lord Littleton, Speaker of that which they call the House of Peeres, and Serjeant Eure of the other, which they name the House of Commons.

They

They have granted the summe of 100000. li. for the maintenance and recruiting of the Forces raised against the Parliament and Kingdome, and have advised the same to be leavied upon the people in an Arbitrary way by Privy Seale, under the colour of Loane, which by their consent and pretended Authority is accordingly put in execution, as appeareth by the Privy Seales themselves, signed by the said Lord Littleton and Serjeant Eure, a Copy of one of them we have caused to be herewith printed. And what is beyond all, and without the power and capacity of a Parliament, they have declared another Kingdome, and the Parliament it selfe, guilty of high Treason, having Voted our Brethren of Scotland, who upon our Injunction, and according to the Act of Pacification, are come in to assist us in maintenance of our Religion and just Priviledges; and the two Houses, who have raised Forces for their owne just defence and the maintenance of their Religion and Liberty, Traytors and Rebels.

And now we refer it to any sober and indifferent Judgement, whether there can be a higher attempt to shake off and cut in sunder all bands of Law and Government, and to bring the people under the yoke and bondage of an absolute Tyranny then this is.

And we cannot chuse but admire and lament that this Kingdome should produce such unnaturall Monsters, who like Vipers to make way for their owne safety, would destroy the Wombe that bare them. And because themselves are justly cut off as rotten and destructive branches of the representative

Body of the Kingdome, would therefore pluck up the Tree by the root, and destroy both Parliament and Kingdome. But when we consider the persons this Juncto is composed of, it produceth no great wonder, consisting not onely of such who for betraying the trust reposed in them by their Countrey, and their duty to the Common-wealth, have beene justly excluded the Parliament. But if the Lord Digby, Percy, Iermyn, and others, who even before these unhappy differences, have beene legally impeached or questioned in Parliament for high Treason, and being convinced in their owne Consciences of the guilt thereof, fled the Kingdome to avoid their Triall, and therefore by Proclamations in his Majesties name, when his Majestie was here present, summoned to appeare to answer to that charge. But our greatest griefe is, That their Councels should so farre prevaile, as to procure his Majestie (under the pretence of Peace) to be their Instrument to an attempt so destructive to Himselfe, Kingdome and People. And to endeavour the consent of the Parliament, to destroy it selfe and their owne Religion and Liberties; an Attempt not to be paralleld by the president of the most pernitious times; and if effected, would in the end prove as dangerous to his Majestie as to the Kingdome, which may be made apparent by the example of some of his Predecessors, unhappily misled by the desperate Councels of private and ill affected persons which consideration necessitated us to returne his Majestie the Answer herewith printed, wherein we take the boldnesse, with all humility and plainnesse,

plainnesse, to declare as well the duty we owe to our Country for whom we are intrusted, as the Allegiance we owe to him; and that without apparent breach of both, we could not assent to any Treaty upon the termes expressed in his Maiesties Letter: And likewise to tender unto him our humble Advice of a safe and ready way to put an end to the present sad conditions of his Maiesties Dominions, and we shall never cease by our continuall and earnest Prayers to Almighty God to implore him, that yet at length he would incline his Royall Heart to be throughly sensible of these unhappy Divisions that have occasioned so much innocent blood to staine the Land, and by hearkning unto the ioint advice of both Kingdomes now happily united in this common Cause by their late solemne League and Covenant, put an happy issue to all these troubles.

This we thought necessary to declare, to the end the world may see as well our owne reall endeavours to attaine a safe and iust Peace, as the indefatigable practices of those Popish and Jesuiticall Councels (the Instruments of all our miseries) who are content to appeare in all shapes, and leave no meanes unattempted to compasse their owne ends. First, they would have undermined us by secret practices; then they would have forced us by open Warre; and now they would allure us by the specious pretence of Peace to disavow this Parliament, and our iust Rights and Priviledges; and consequently resigne our selves, Religion, Lawes, and Liberties to the power of Idolatry, Superstition, and Tyranny.

But we are constantly resolved, in discharge of the duty we owe to our God, the trust reposed in us by our Country and our late solemne Oath and Covenant, with the hazzard of our lives and fortunes, to defend our lawfull Rights and Liberties, the Freedome and Priviledges of this present Parliament, and which is above all the true Protestant Religion, wherein we shall not doubt but to receive the hearty concurrence and assistance of all well affected Protestants and true lovers of their Countrey and liberty; and the Lord of Hosts whose cause it is we stand for, and upon whose assistance we principally rely, grant our endeavours a blessed and happy successe.

ANNO

ANNO XVII. Caroli Regis.

An Act to prevent Inconveniences which may happen by the untimely Adjourning, Proroguing, or Diſſolving of this preſent Parliament.

WHereas great ſummes of money muſt of neceſſity be ſpeedily advanced and provided for the reliefe of His Majeſties Army and people in the Northern parts of this Realm, and for preventing the imminent danger this King-

Kingdom is in, and for supply of other His Majesties present and urgent occasions, Which cannot be so timely effected as is requisite, Without credit for raising the said moneys, Which credit cannot be obtained, untill such obstacles be first removed as are occasioned by feares, jealousies, and apprehensions of divers his Majesties loyall Subjects, that this present Parliament may be Adjourned, Prorogued, or Dissolved, before Justice shall be duely executed upon Delinquents, publike Grievance redressed, a firme Peace between the two Nations of England and Scotland concluded, and before sufficient Provision be made for the repaiment of the said moneys so to be raised: All Which the Commons in this present Parliament assembled having duely considered, do therefore humbly beseech your most Excellent Majesty, that it may be declared and enacted;

And be it declared and enacted by the King, Our Sovereaigne Lord, with the assent of the Lords and Commons in this present

present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That this present Parliament now assembled shall not be dissolved unlesse it be by Act of Parliament to be passed for that purpose; nor shall be at any time or times during the continuance thereof, Prorogued or Adjourned, unlesse it be by Act of Parliament to be likewise passed for that purpose: And that the House of Peers shall not at any time or times during this present Parliament, be Adjourned, unlesse it be by themselves or by their owne Order: And in like manner, that the House of Commons shall not at any time or times during this present Parliament be Adjourned, unlesse it be by themselves or by their own Order; And that all and every thing and things whatsoever done or to be done, for the Adjournment, Proroguing, or Dissolving of this present Parliament contrary to this Act, shall be utterly voyd, and of none effect.

Order-

ORdered by the Commons aſſembled in Parliament, That the Act of Parliament made in the 17th yeere of His Majeſties reigne, for the continuance of this preſent Parliament, be printed with the Declaration.

H. Elſynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

The

The Earl of Forth *to His Excellency the Earl of* Eſſex.

MY Lord, I ſend you herewith this incloſed packet, direct to your Lordſhip, from thoſe Lords and members of the Houſe of Commons, as are here aſſembled at *Oxford*. I reſt

Your Lordſhips humble ſervant,

Oxon, 29. *January*, 1643. FORTH.

My Lord, *The Incloſed, To the Earl of* ESSEX.

HIs Majeſtie having by His Proclamation of the two and twentieth of December (upon the occaſion of the Invaſion threatned, and in part begun by ſome of His Subjects of *Scotland*) ſummon'd all the members of both Houſes of Parliament to attend him here at *Oxford*; We whoſe names are underwritten, are here met & aſſembled in obedience to thoſe His Majeſties commands; His Majeſtie was pleaſed to invite us in the ſaid Proclamation by theſe gracious Expreſſions [That His Subjects ſhould ſee how willing he was to receive advice, for the preſervation of the Religion, Lawes, and ſafety of the Kingdome, and as farre as in him lay, to reſtore it to it's former Peace, and ſecuritie, (His chiefe and onely end) from thoſe whom they had truſted, though he could not receive it in the place where he appointed.] This moſt gracious invitation, hath not onely been made good unto us, but ſeconded and heighthned by ſuch unqueſtionable demonſtrations of the deep and Princely ſence which poſſeſſes His Royall heart, of the miſeries and calamities of His poor Subjects in this unnaturall war, and of His moſt entire and paſſionate affections, to redeeme them from that ſad and doplorable condition, by all wayes poſſibly conſiſtent; either with His honour, or with the future ſafety of the Kingdom, that as it were impiety to

queſtion the ſincerityof them,ſo were it great want of duty and faithfulneſſe in us (His Majeſty having vouchſafed to declare, that he did call us to be witneſſes of His actions, and privy to His intentions) ſhould we not teſtifie and witneſſe to all the world, the aſſurance we have of the piety and ſinceritie of both. We being more intirely ſatisfied of this truth, we cannot but confeſſe that amidſt our higheſt afflictions, in the deep and piercing ſence, of the preſent miſeries and deſolations of our countrey, and thoſe further dangers threatned from *Scotland*; We are at length erected to ſome cheerfull and comfortable thoughts, that poſſibly we may yet (by Gods mercy, if his juſtice have not determined this Nation for it's ſins, to totall ruine, and deſolation) hope to be happie inſtruments of our countreys redemption from the miſeries of war, and reſtitution to the bleſſings of Peace; And we being deſirous to beleeve your Lordſhip (how ever engaged) a perſon likely to be ſencibly touched with theſe conſiderations, have thought fit to invite you to that part in this bleſſed worke, which is onely capable to repair all our misfortunes, and to buoye up the Kingdom from ruine; That is, by conjuring you, by all the obligations that have power upon honour, conſcience, or publike pietie, that laying to heart (as we do) the inwardly bleeding condition of your country, and the outward more menacing deſtruction by a forraigne Nation, upon the very point of invading it, you will cooperate with us to it's preſervation, by truly repreſenting to, and faithfully and induſtriouſly promoving with thoſe, by whom you are truſted, this following, moſt ſincere, and moſt earneſt deſire of ours. That they joyning with us in a right ſence of the paſt, preſent, and more threatning calamities of this deplorable Kingdom; ſome perſons be appointed on either part, and a place agreed on,

to

to treat of ſuch a Peace, as may yet redeeme it from the brinke of deſolation.

This addreſſe we ſhould not have made, but that His Majeſties ſummons by which we are met, moſt graciouſly proclaiming pardon to all without exception, is evidence enough, that His mercy and clemency can tranſcend all former provocations; And that he hath not onely made us witneſſes of His Princely intentions, but honoured us alſo with the name of being ſecurity for them.

God Almighty direct your Lordſhip, and thoſe to whom you ſhall repreſent theſe our moſt reall deſires, in ſuch a courſe, as may produce that happy Peace, and ſettlement of the preſent diſtractions, which is ſo heartily deſired, and prayed for by us, and which may make us

From Oxford Jan. 27. 1643.

Your affectionate Friends,

Charles P.
York.
Cumberland
Ed: Littleton Cs:
Tho: Cottington
Richmond
Hertford
Lindſey
Dorſet
Shrewsbury
Hen: Bathon
Tho: Southampton
J: Carlile
Northampton
W: Devonſhire
Briſtoll
Barkſhire
Cleveland
Peterborough
Kingſton
Henry Dover
Conway
George Digby
Crumwell
Mowbray & Maltravers
Rivers
William Paget
Howard of Charlton

Leiceſter
J: Newport
John Lovelace
Mohun
Portland
Savile
Dunſmore
Seymour
Percy

Wilmot
Chandois
T: Leigh
Ch: Hatton
Hen: Jermyn
Rich
Tho: Wentworth
C: Carington.

John Fetiplace.
Alex. Denton.
John Packington.
Thomas Smith.
F: Gamul.
John Harris.
Joſeph Jones.
Richard Edgcumb.
Jonathan Raſhleigh.
George Fane.
B: Edgcumb.
William Glanvill.
Robert Holborns.
Ralph Sydenham.
Francis Godolphin.

George Parry.
Ambroſe Manaton.
Richard Wogan.
John Polwhele.
John Arundell.
Thomas Lower.
Edward Hyde.
William Alleſtree.
G: Stonehouſe.
Edward Seymour.
Peter Sainthill.
William Poly.
Roger Hathew.
Richard Arundell.
Robert Walker.

Giles

Giles Strangewayes.
John Dutton.
Strangways 1643.
Henry Bret.
William Chadwell.
Thomas Bele.
Theobald Gorges.
Ger: Naper.
John Georges.
Samuel Turner.
William Conſtantine.
Killigrew.
Richard King.
Thomas Fanſhaw.
Humph: Coningesby
Richard Seabourn.
Arthur Ranelaugh.
Thomas Tomkyns.
Sampſon Eure.
John Culpeper.
Geoffrey Palmer.
J: Harriſon.
Thomas Fanſhaw.
Roger Palmer.
W. Bridgeman.
William Watkins.

John Smith.
Thomas Bludder.
Edward Littleton.
Henry Bagot.
Keveſon.
Richard Cave
Richard Weſton
Richard Lee
Thomas Whitmore
Edward Acton
C: Baldwyn
Richard Goodwyn
Thomas Howard
Thomas Littleton
Ro: Howard
John Meux
Matth. Davys
H: Cornwalleis
Thomas Jermyn
John Atler
William Vaſsill
William Fortman
Edw: Rodeney
Thomas Hanham
Edward Phillips
John Digby

Fillis

Fillis Kyrton
Chr: Lewkener
Edw: Alford
John White
John Aſhburnham
William Smith
Thomas Leeds
J: Thynne
William Pleydell
Robert Hyde
Edward Griffin
Walter Smith
George Lowe
Richard Harding
Henry Herbert
Endymion Porter
Sam: Shandys
John Bodrell

W: Thorgan
William Thomas
John Martin
Hen: Belaſyſe
George Wentworth
William Malory
Richard Aldburgh
John Salusbury
William Herbert
William Price
Jo: Jeery
R: Herbert
Charles Price
Phil: Warwick
Tho: Coke
Ro: Croke
Herbert Priſe
John Whiſtler:

His

His Excellency to the Earl of FORTH.

MY *Lord*, I received this day a Letter of the 29 of this inſtant from your Lordſhip, and a Parchment, ſubſcribed by the Prince, Duke of *York*, divers Lords and Gentlemen: But it neither having addreſſe to the two Houſes of Parliament, nor therein there being any acknowledgement of them, I could not communicate it to them.

My Lord, the maintenance of the Parliament of *England*, and of the priviledges thereof, is that, for which we are reſolved to ſpend our blood, as being the foundation whereon all our Laws and Liberties are built.

I ſend your Lordſhip herewith a Nationall Covenant, ſolemnly entred into by both the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, and a Declaration paſſed by them both, together with another Declaration of the Kingdom of *Scotland*. I reſt

Your Lordſhips humble Servant,

Eſſex houſe, Jan. 30. 1643. ESSEX.

The Earl of FORTH to his Excellency.

MY Lord, I cannot ſo willingly write to you in any buſineſſe, as in that of Peace; The indeavours thereof being the principall duty of thoſe who are truſted in places of our commands, eſpecially when the blood that is ſpilt, is of perſons under the ſame Allegiance, of the ſame country and Religion. His Majeſty continuing conſtant in his pious & frequent deſires of a happy end to theſe bloody diſtractions. I do hereby deſire your Lordſhip to ſend me a ſafe Conduct, to and from *Weſtminſter*, for Mr *Richard Fanchaw*, and Mr. *Thomas Offly*, Eſquires, to be ſent by His Majeſty concerning a Treaty for Peace. I reſt,

My Lord, your Lordſhips humble Servant,

Oxford, 15. *Febr.* 1643. FORTH.

His

His Excellency to the Earl of FORTH.

MY Lord, you ſhew your nobleneſſe, in declaring your willingneſſe to write to me in any buſineſſe, as of that of Peace; and I joyn with you in the ſame opinion, that it ought to be a principall duty of thoſe who are truſted in places of our command: and therfore whenſoever I ſhall receive any directions to thoſe who have intruſted me, I ſhall uſe my beſt indeavours; and when you ſhall ſend for a ſafe Conduct, for thoſe Gentlemen mentioned in your Letter from His Majeſty to the Houſes of Parliament, I ſhall with all cheerfulneſſe ſhew my willingneſſe to further any way that may produce that happineſſe, that all honeſt men pray for, which is a true underſtanding between His Majeſty and His faithfull and onely Councell the Parliament.

Your Lordſhips humble Servant,

19. Febr. 1643. ESSEX.

The Earl of FORTH *to his Excellency.*

MY Lord, I have received your Letter of the 19. of the laſt Moneth, which, according to my duty, I ſhewed to His Majeſty; who obſerving in it your Expreſſions concerning Peace (that whenſoever you ſhall receive any directions to thoſe who have intruſted you, you ſhall uſe your beſt endeavours) is graciouſly pleaſed to ſend this incloſed; which is deſired, may be delivered according to the directions. I reſt

Your Lordſhips humble Servant,

Oxon, 3. Mar. 1643. FORTH.

The incloſed Letter from His Majeſty, is thus directed:

CHARLES R. *To the Lords and Commons of Parliament, aſſembled at Weſtminſter.*

TO THE
Lords and Commons
OF
PARLIAMENT,
Assembled at
WESTMINSTER.

CHARLES *Rex.*

OUt of Our most tender and pious sence, of the sad and bleeding condition of this Our Kingdom, and Our unwearied desires to apply all remedies, which by the blessing of Almighty God, may recover it

from an utter ruine. By the Advice of the Lords and Commons of Parliament, aſſembled at *Oxford*, We do propound and deſire, That a convenient number of fit perſons, may be appointed, and authorized by you, to meet (withall convenient ſpeed, at ſuch place, as you ſhall nominate) with an equall number of fit perſons, whom We ſhall appoint and authorize, to treat of ſuch wayes and means, to ſettle the preſent diſtractions of this Our Kingdom, and to procure a happy Peace; And particularly, how all the Members of both Houſes may ſecurely meet in a free and full convention of Parliament, there to treat, conſult, and agree, upon ſuch things, as may conduce to the maintenance, and defence of the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion, with due conſideration to all juſt and reaſonable eaſe of tender conſciences, to the ſetling and maintaining of Our juſt Rights and Prerogatives, of the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament, the Laws of the Land, the Libertie and Proprietie of the Subject, and all other expedients that may conduce to that

that bleſſed end of a firm and laſting Peace, both in Church and State; and a perfect underſtanding between Us and Our People, wherein no endeavours or concurrence of Ours ſhall be wanting. And God direct your hearts in the wayes of Peace.

Oxford the third of *March.* 1643.

THE LETTER SENT By both Houſes of *Parliament*, In Anſwer to His Majeſties Letter the third of *March*.

May it pleaſe your Majeſtie.

WE the Lords and Commons aſſembled in the Parliament of *England*, taking into our conſideration a Letter ſent from Your Majeſtie, dated the third of *March* inſtant, and directed to the Lords and Commons aſſembled

assembled at *Westminster* (which by the contents of a Letter from the Earl of *Forth*, unto the LORD GENERALL, the Earl of *Essex*, we conceive was intended to our selves) have resolved with the concurrent advice, and consent of the Commissioners of SCOTLAND, to represent to Your Majestie in all humility and plainnesse, as followeth.

That as we have used all means for a just and safe Peace, so will we never be wanting to do our uttermost, for the procuring thereof: But when we consider the Expressions in that Letter of Your Majesties, we have more sad, and dispairing thoughts of attaining the same, then ever; because thereby those persons now assembled at *Oxford*, who contrary to their duty, have deserted Your Parliament, are put into an equall condition with it. And this present Parliament, convened according to the known Laws of the Kingdom, the continuance whereof, is established by a Law consented unto by Your Majesty, is in effect denyed to be a Parliament; the

scope

ſcope and intention of that Letter, being to make proviſion, how all the Members, as is pretended, of both Houſes, may ſecurely meet in a full and free Convention of Parliament; whereof, no other concluſion can be made, but that preſent Parliament, is not a free, nor full Convention; and that to make it a free, and full Convention of Parliament, the preſence of thoſe is neceſſary, who notwithſtanding they have deſerted that great Truſt, and do levy War againſt Your Parliament, are pretended to be Members of the two Houſes of Parliament.

And hereupon, we think our ſelves bound, to let Your Majeſtie know, That ſeeing the continuance of this Parliament, is ſetled by a Law (which as all other, the Laws of Your Kingdoms, Your Majeſty is ſworn to maintain, as we are ſworn to our Allegiance to Your Majeſty, (theſe Obligations being reciprocall) we muſt in duty, and accordingly are reſolved, with our Lives, and Fortunes, to defend and preſerve, the juſt Rights, and full power of this

this Parliament. And do beſeech Your Majeſtie, That Your Majeſties Royall and hearty concurrence with us herein, will be the moſt effectuall and ready means, of procuring a firm and laſting Peace, in all Your Majeſties Dominions, and of begetting a perfect underſtanding between Your Royall Majeſtie, and Your People; without which, Your Majeſties moſt earneſt Profeſſions, and our moſt reall Intentions concerning the ſame, muſt neceſſarily be fruſtrated; and in caſe Your Majeſties three Kingdoms ſhall ſtill remain in this ſad and bleeding condition, tending by this unnaturall Warre, to their ruine, Your Majeſtie cannot be the leaſt, nor the laſt ſufferer. God in his goodneſſe, incline Your Royall Breſt, out of pitty and compaſſion, to the deep ſufferings of Your innocent people, to put a ſpeedy and happy Iſſue to theſe deſperate evils, by the Joynt advice of both Kingdoms, now happily united in this common cauſe, by their late ſolemn League and Covenant;

which

which as it will prove the ſureſt remedy, ſo it is the prayer of

Your Majeſties Loyall Subjects,

The Lords and Commons
aſſembled in the Parliament
of *England.*

THE

The Lord *Digby's* Letter to Sir *H. Devic.*

SIR,

MY Indiſpoſion the laſt week forc't me to refer you to my Secretary, for an Accompt of what occurrences it afforded: This week hath been ſo little productive of any thing conſiderable, that when I ſhall have told you of the taking of *Biſton* Caſtle, in Cheſhire, by His Majeſties Forces under the Lord *Byron*, a place of huge importance, both for ſtrength and command of all thoſe Countries of Cheſhire, Lancaſhire, and ſome parts of Stafford and Darby-ſhire; I ſhall have told you all: the Marqueſſe of Newcaſtle having attempted nothing ſince the taking of *Winckfield* Manor, *Plymouth* remaining ſtill in the former condition, beſieged; and there having been nothing done betwixt my Lord *Hopton* and Sir *William Waller*, ſince the unluckie beating up of one of our Quarters, at *Alton*: But we are in daily expectation of a critical blow between them, the Lord *Wilmot* being now joyned with the Lord *Hopton* with a freſh ſtrength of 1000. Horſe, and both being under march to attaine *Waller*, who hath poſſeſt himſelfe of *Arundell* Town; we having a ſtrong Garriſon in the Caſtle: and it is probably hop't that he cannot avoid fighting with them upon diſadvantage. Thus much for the Military part.

The Prince *Harcourts* negotiation by way of entremiſe, for an Accommodation, is wel-nigh at an end, as I beleeve: for that the pretended Parliament will not hearken to any Propoſition from him in any other way, than of an avowed addreſſe; by which they might ſeeme either to be own'd by

 him

him as a Parliament, and applyed to by him as an Ambaſſadour, or elſe to be admitted by the King for ſomewhat more conſiderable, then hath in a long time owned them for: a point which His Majeſty may not ſuffer them to gain, without ſubverting the grounds and maxims of all His late proceedings againſt them, and that which Hee now goes upon, by the advice of all His Nobility, here, as you will perceive by this incloſed Proclamation, upon the effects whereof all the eyes of the Kingdome are now fixt: God ſend them to be as good, actuated, as they are in ſpeculation: for I am confident that in reaſon it carries probability of the ſureſt and readieſt way to a re-eſtabliſhment of His Majeſty in His juſt Rights and Powers, of any courſe that hath been yet attempted: This is all, more then the hearty reſpect of

Oxon: the 27th of Decemb. 1643.

I have received Yours of the 19. And will by the next give you an Accompt of that particular in it concerning your ſelfe.

Your very affectionate friend
and ſervant,

GEORGE DIGBY.

To Our Truſty and Welbeloved RICHARD TILNEY of Rotherwick, *Gentleman.*

Charles R:

TRuſty And Welbeloved, We greet you well. Whereas all Our Subjects of the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, are both by their Allegiance and Act of Pacification, bound to reſiſt and ſuppreſſe all ſuch of Our Subjects of *Scotland*, as have in a hoſtile maner already entred, or ſhal haereſter enter into this Kingdome. And by Law your Perſonall ſervice, attended in a warlike manner for the reſiſtance of this Invaſion, may be required by Vs, which We Deſire to ſpare, Chuſing rather, to invite your aſſiſtance for the maintenance of Our Army in a free and voluntary expreſſion of your affections to Our ſervice and the ſafety of this Kingdome. And whereas the Members of both Houſes of Parliament Aſſembled at *Oxford*, have taken into their Conſideration the neceſſity of ſupporting Our Army, for the Defence of Vs and Our People againſt this Invaſion, and for the Preſervation of the Religin, Lawes and Liberties of this Kingdome, and thereupon have agreed upon the ſpeedy raiſing of the Summe of one hundred Thouſand pounds by Loane from particular Perſons, towards the which themſelves have advanced a very Conſiderable Proportion, and by

their Examples hope, That Our well affected Subjects throughout the Kingdom will in a ſhort time make up the Remainder, whereby We ſhall not onely be enabled to pay and recruite Our Army, but likewiſe be enabled to put Our Armies in ſuch a Condition, as Our Subjects ſhall not ſuffer by Free-Quarter or the unrulineſſe of Our Souldiers; which is now in preſent Agitation, and will (We no way doubt, by the Advice of the Members of both Houſes Aſſembled) be ſpeedily effected. We doe, towards ſo good a worke, by the Approbation and Advice of the ſaid Members of both Houſes here aſſembled, deſire you forthwith to lend Vs the Summe of Two hundred pounds, or the value thereof in plate, toucht Plate at five ſhillings, and untoucht plate at foure ſhillings foure pence, *per* ounce; and to pay or deliver the ſame within ſeven daies after the Receipt thereof, to the hands of Our High-Sheriffe of that Our County, or to ſuch whom he ſhall appoint to receive the ſame, (upon his Acquitances for the Receipt thereof) who is forthwith to rerurn and pay the ſame at *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge in *Oxford*, to the hands of the Earle of *Bath*, the Lord *Seymour*, Mr. *John Aſhburnham*, and Mr. *John Fettiplace*, or any of them, who are appointed Treaſurers for the receiving and iſſuing thereof by the ſaid Members, (by whoſe Order only the ſaid Money is to be diſpoſed) and to give Receipts for the ſame; the which We Promiſe to repay aſſoone as God ſhall enable Us; This Summe being to be advanced with ſpeed, We are neceſſitated to apply Our Selves to ſuch Perſons as your ſelfe, of whoſe Ability and Affection We have Confidence, giving you this Aſſurance, that in ſuch further Charges, that the neceſſity of Our juſt Defence ſhall inforce Us to require of Our good Subjects, your forwardneſſe and diſburſments ſhall be conſidered to your beſt advantage.

advantage. And ſo preſuming you will not faile to expreſſe your Affection herein, We bid you Farewell. *Given at Our Court at* OXFORD, *the* 14 *day of* February, *in the Nineteenth yeare of Our Raigne.* 1643.

By the Advice of the Members of both Houſes Aſſembled at OXFORD.

Ed. Littleton.

Southampton.

To Mr. *Tilney* of *Rotherwick* 200. pound.

SAMUEL EURE.

Die Luna 18. *Martii* 1643.

IT is this day Ordered by the Commons Aſſembled in Parliament: That the Votes informed to paſſe at OXFORD by thoſe that terme themſelves the Commons there, bearing date 12. Martii 1643. be referred to the Conſideration of the Committee of both Kingdomes to make ſuch uſe of them as they ſhall think fit.

H. Elſynge Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Sir *Edward Nicholas* his Letter, with *the incloſed Votes.*

SIR,

IN my two laſt to you bearing date the 14. and the 24. of the inſtant I acknowledged what letters of yours I had then received, ſince which I have heard nothing from you. The paper adjoyned will ſatisfie you concerning our affaires and occurrences; to which referring you I remaine

SIR

Oxon. 28. *Febr.* 1643. Your humble ſervant

Edward Nicholas.

A Monſieur
Monſieur *Talbot* Secretaire de l' Ambaſſade du Roy d' Angleterre

A Venize.

Votes at *Oxford* the 26. of Jan. 1643.

Die Veneris 26. Januar. 1643.

IT Reſolved upon the Queſtion, *Nemine contradicente*, That all ſuch Subjects of *Scotland* as have conſented to the Declaration intituled the Declaration of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, & concerning the preſent expedition into *England*, according to the Commiſſion and Order of the Convention of *Eſtates* from their meeting at *Edenburgh*, Auguſt 1643. Have thereby denounced warre againſt the Kingdome of *England*, and broke the act of pacification.

2 The

2 Reſolved &c. *Nemine contradicente*, That all ſuch of the Subjects of Scotland as have in a hoſtile manner entred into the towne of Berwick upon Twede have thereby broke the act of pacification.

3 Reſolved &c. *nemine contradicente*, That all his Majeſties ſubjects of the Kingdom of England and Dominon of Wales, are both by their allegiance and the Act of pacification bound to reſiſt and repreſſe all ſuch of the Subjects of Scotland as have in a hoſtile manner already entred or ſhall hereafter enter into the towne of Berwick upon Twede or any other part of his Majſties Realme of *England*, or Dominion of *Wales*, as traitors and enemies to the State.

4 Reſolved &c. *Nemine contradicente*, That all ſuch of his Majeſties Subjects, of the Realme of *England*, or Dominion of *Wales*, that ſhall be abetting, ayding, and aſſiſting to the Subjects of *Scotland*, in their hoſtile invaſion of any part of his Majeſtes Realme of *England*, or Dominion of *Wales*, ſhal be deemed & taken as traytors & enemies to the State.

5 Reſolved &c. *Nemine contradicente*, That all his Majeſties Subjects of *Scotland*, are bound by the Act of pacification to reſiſt and repreſſe all of that Kingdome that already have raiſed Armes or ſhall riſe in Armes to invade this Kingdome of *England*, or Dominion of *Wales*.

Votes at *Oxon*.

March 12. 1643.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion.

Nemine contradicente.

THAT the Lords and Commons now remaining at Weſtminſter, that have given their Votes or conſentt to the raiſing of Forces under the Command of the

Earle of *Eſſex*, or have been abetting, ayding, or aſſiſting thereunto, have levied and made warre againſt the King, and are therein guilty of high Treaſon.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion, &c. That the Lords and Commons now remaining at Weſtminſter, that have given their Votes and conſents for the making and uſing of a new Great Seale, have thereby counterfeited the Kings Great Seale, and therein committed high Treaſon.

Reſolved &c. That the ſaid Lords and Commons now remaining at Weſtminſter, that have given their conſents, or have been abetting, ayding, or aſſiſting to the preſent comming in of the *Scots* into *England* in a warlike manner, have therein committed high Treaſon.

Reſolved &c. That the Lords and Commons now remaining at Weſtminſter, who have committed the crime mentioned in the three former Votes, have therein broken the Truſt in them repoſed by their Country, and ought to be proceeded againſt as Traytors to the King and Kingdome.

Reſolved &c. That all the Endevors and Offers of Peace, and Treaty made by His Majeſty, by the adviſe of the Lords and Commons of Parliament Aſſembled at *Oxford*, have been refuſed and rejected by the Lords and Commons remaining at Weſtminſter.

FINIS.

MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM